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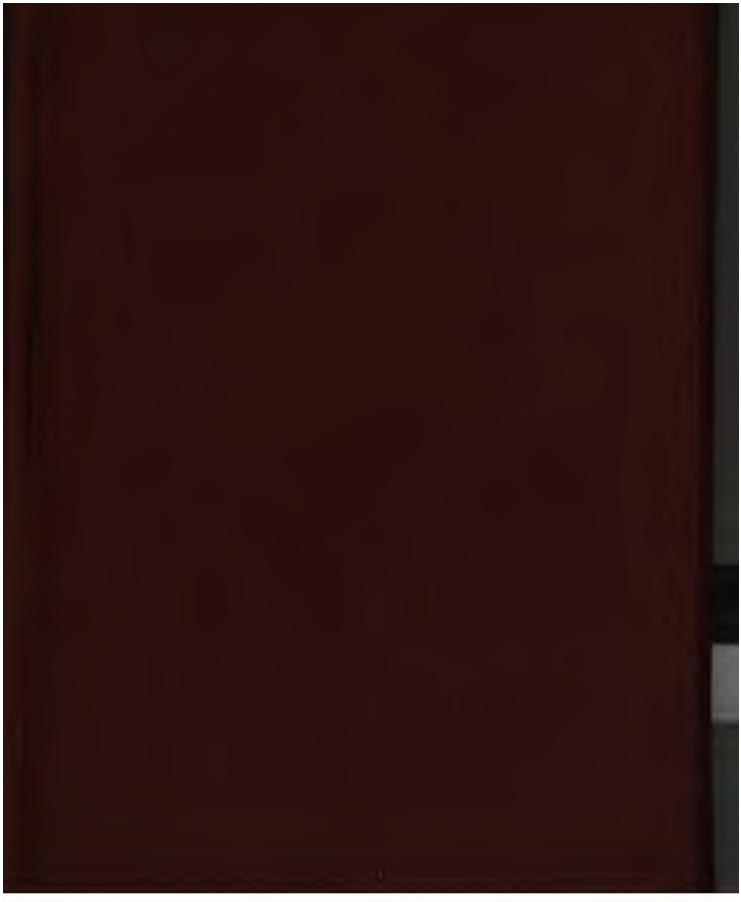

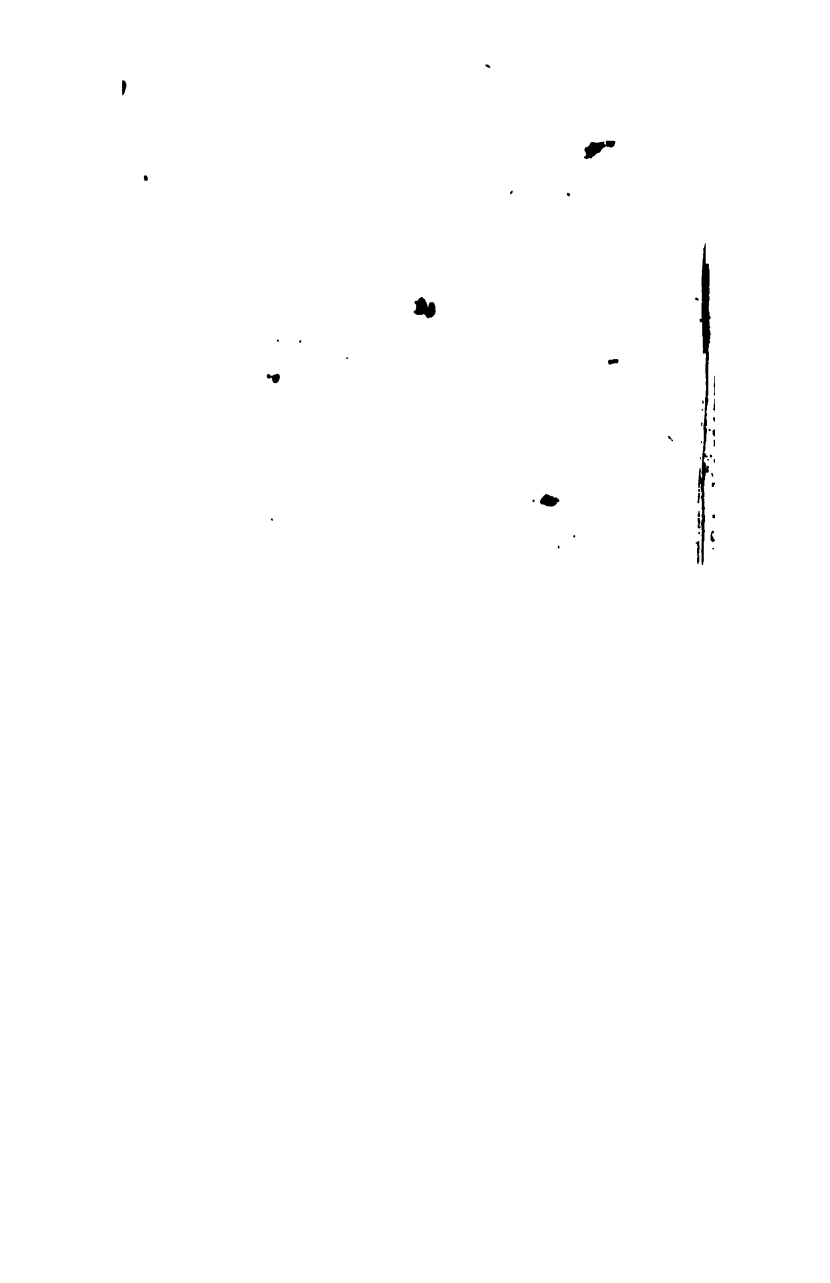

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FROM

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TO THE

GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR. LL. D.

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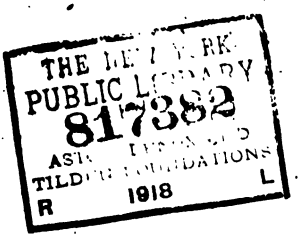
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IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF RESPECT,

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HIS LORDSHIP'S

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AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,

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THE

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of Greece, from the Conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, to the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon.

WHEN Lysander had demolished the walls and fortifications of Athens, it still remained for him to reduce the island of Samos, which was honourably distinguished by being the last settlement in the east that opposed the ambition of Pericles, and was now the last which submitted to the arms of Lysander. The Spartan government, with an unaccountable infatuation, ruled the islands and cities that voluntarily accepted the yoke, or reluctantly surrendered to the power of Lacedæmon, in an equally arbitrary and tyrannical manner. In every place there existed some hostile factions, which danger or ambition had fostered; and the party that seemed to possess most craft and least patriotism was always preferred by Lysander. Over the cabal which thus appeared likely to favour the views and the interest of Sparta, he placed a Lacedæmonian governor, on whose obsequiousness he could faithfully depend. The citadels were g-

risoned with mercenary soldiers; the faction in power tyrannised over the rest of the inhabitants, whom they had formerly envied as rivals, or dreaded as enemies; and every species of licentiousness and disorder was exercised with a boldness and presumption that nothing could equal but the tameness and servility with which they were endured. The Asiatic Greeks no longer complained of the exorbitant contributions that had been formerly exacted from them, when Lysander compelled them to pay the enormous tribute of a thousand talents. The dishonourable yoke of Persia, and the stern dominion of Athens, they had once greatly regretted; but both these were light, compared to the oppressive cruelty and exactions of Lysander.

From the hardships and cruelties inflicted on the Athenians, we may collect the arbitrary and severe treatment of the Spartans toward their Asiatic colonies and dependencies. The Athenians had surrendered their fleet; their walls and fortifications were demolished; the citadel was garrisoned with Lacedæmonian troops in the pay of Athens, under the command of Callibius, a Spartan; and their government was usurped by thirty men, the dependants and the creatures of Lysander. Critias was at the head B. C. 404. of this aristocratical council, the members of which have been justly branded in history with the title of the thirty tyrants. Pretending to deliver the state from the malice of informers, and the turbulence of seditious demagogues, they destroyed the most valuable and virtuous persons of the community. Niceratus, the son of Nicias, who, possessing the wealth, inherited also the splendid virtues of his father, and was extremely

beloved by the people, was condemned to death. Leon, the most public spirited, and Antiphon, the most renowned for his eloquence, of any of his contemporaries, suffered the same fate; and Thrasybulus and Anytus were driven into banishment. The powerful were regarded as dangerous; and the opulent accused as criminal; strangers and citizens underwent the same oppression.

But while the tyrants exercised this oppressive cruelty, which they probably considered as necessary for establishing their usurpation in permanence, and for insuring the safety of themselves, the downfall of their administration was thereby precipitated. The Athenians, whose sufferings seemed no longer supportable, wanted only a leader to rouse them to arms, and to conduct them to victory and vengeance. The Lacedæmonians were at this time engaged in extending and completing their conquests over the colonies of Asia: and therefore could not spare any of their forces to increase the garrison in Athens. The abilities and resentment of Alcibiades pointed him out as the person most able to undertake the arduous and honourable design of reassembling the scattered fugitives, and of animating them with courage to attempt the recovery of their country. After the Lacedæmonians had become masters of the Hellespont, that illustrious Athenian had been driven from the possession of his fortress in Thrace; and had acquired a settlement under Pharnabazus, in the little village of Grynium, in Phrygia. Here, undisturbed by the noise and dangers of war and politics, he passed his time in obscurity, in the enjoyments of love and friendship; but the ma-

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Chap-

Anitus and Lycon; and the philosopher was summoned before the tribunal of the five hundred. He was accused of making innovations in the religion of the Greeks, and of ridiculing the many gods which the Athenians worshipped: yet, false as this might appear, the accusers relied for the success of their cause upon the perjury of the witnesses and the envy of the judges, whose ignorance would readily yield to misrepresentation, and be influenced and guided by eloquence and artifice. In this their expectations were not frustrated; and, while the judges expected submission from Socrates, and that meanness of behaviour and servility of defence which distinguished criminals, the philosopher perhaps accelerated his own fall by the firmness of his mind and his uncomplying integrity. Lysias, one of the most celebrated orators of the age, composed an oration in a laboured and pathetic strain, which he offered to his friend to be presented as his defence in the presence of his judges; but Socrates refused it, observing that a philosopher ought to be conspicuous for magnanimity and firmness of soul. In his apology he spoke with great animation, and confessed that while others boasted that they were acquainted with every thing, he himself knew nothing. The whole discourse was full of simplicity and noble grandeur, and the energetic language of offended innocence. He modestly said that what he possessed was applied for the service of the Athenians: it was his wish to make his fellow citizens happy; and it was a duty which he performed by the special command of the gods, "whose authority," said he emphatically to the judges "I regard more than yours." Such language from

man who was accused of a capital crime,
ned and irritated the judges. Socrates
ndemned, but only by a majority of three
; and when he was demanded, according
rule of the Athenian laws, to pass sentence
self, by mentioning what death he prefer-
replied, "For my attempts to teach the
ian youth justice and moderation, and to
the rest of my countrymen more happy,
be maintained at the public expence dur-
remaining years of my life, in the Pryta-
*; an honour, O Athenians! which I de-
more than the victors of the Olympic
: they make their countrymen more happy
earance, but I have made you so in reali-
This exasperated the judges in the highest
; and he was condemned to drink hem-
Upon this he addressed the court, and
particularly the judges who had decided in
our, in a pathetic speech. He told them,
die was a pleasure; since he was going to
onverse with the greatest heroes of anti-
he recommended to their care his de-
ess children; and, as he returned to the
, he exclaimed, "I go to die, you to live;
is best, the Deity alone can know!" The
celebration of some religious festivals
ited his execution for thirty days; and
that time he was confined in the prison
ded with irons. His friends, ar-
his disciples, were his constan
and he discoursed with them up

* Prytanæum was a council hall of the
h judicatures were held, sacrifices offer
s provided with every necessary at the
lic.

voured to prevent its members from consulting the Delphic oracle, and from partaking of the games and sacrifices performed at Olympia. As long as the Peloponesian war was carried on, these injuries were submitted to with impunity; but no sooner was that war terminated than the Spartans felt with sensibility, and were enabled to chastise with severity every insult that had been offered them, during the less prosperous state of their affairs.

Agis, the most warlike of the Spartan princes, now levied a powerful army, to inflict a late but terrible vengeance on the Eleans. It was his design to surprise them before they could raise forces to make any effectual resistance. He therefore led the troops through the countries of Argolis and Achaia; and, entering the territory of Elis by the road of Larissa, intended to march by the shortest way to the devoted capital. He had scarcely, however, passed the river Larissus, which gives name to the town and divides the provinces of Elis and Achaia, when some severe and repeated shocks of an earthquake were experienced. The superstitious invaders considered this as an admonition from the Gods, that the state they were about to attack was under the protection of Heaven, and that therefore they ought to abstain from ravaging a country so sacredly defended. Into such a menace, at least, was this terrible phenomenon interpreted by the Lacedæmonian king, that he immediately recrossed the river with his troops; and returning home, disbanded his army.

By this event, however, the enmity of the Spartans was only restrained, not extinguished. They offered up prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, beseech-

beseeching them to sanctify and favour the invasion of the Elean territory. The ephori then commanded Agis to levy more forces, and again to march into the country of Elis. No phenomenon now occurred to check their progress. During two successive summers and autumns, the territory was desolated: they burned or otherwise destroyed all the villages; and the inhabitants were made captives: all the ornaments of their sacred edifices were destroyed; and the city of Jupiter was despoiled of many of the porticoes, gymnasia, and temples, that adorned it.

But, though the Spartans had first planned the invasion, they did not either singly incur the guilt, or exclusively obtain the profits, that attended it. The Arcadians and other Peloponnesians, allured by the hope of plunder, joined the Spartan forces: and the Elean territory afforded them a rich and luxurious harvest of spoil; for that country had been long protected by religion against the ravages of war. When the Spartans had thus plundered and laid waste the country of Elis, they granted peace to the inhabitants, on condition that they would surrender their fleet; acknowledge the independence of the inferior towns and villages that were scattered along the banks of the Pereus and the Alpheus, and model their internal government according to the plan prescribed by the conquerors. Thus was Sparta become the arbitrator of Greece.

But though the conquest of Elis engaged, it did not exclusively engross, the attention of the Spartans, nor divert them from pursuing other projects of revenge. The Messenians were not

the accidental and temporary neighbours of Sparta, but they had been the natural and inveterate foes of that community; nor could they expect but to feel the unhappy consequences of the triumph of Lacedæmon.

After the destruction of Messene and the persecution of its inhabitants, Naupactus, situated on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, afforded a safe and secure retreat to a feeble remnant of that community. They flourished here under the protection of Athens; and, in gratitude to their benefactors, were the most active, zealous, and (according to the utmost of their power) the most useful, of any of the allies of Athens, during the whole of the Peloponnesian war. But their assistance, and that of many others, proved ineffectual; and the time was now come when Sparta prepared to inflict a severe punishment upon them, for their recent as well as well as ancient injuries. Naupactus, and Cephalenia (where a considerable colony of the Messenians had been planted) were invaded;—the greater part of the inhabitants escaped to Sicily; upward of three thousand sailed to Cyrenaica. These were the only countries inhabited by the Hellenic race, that were now beyond the reach of the Lacedæmonian power.

B. C. 401.

While the operations of war, and the various revolutions that took place in the governments of Greece, detached the Grecian colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Cyrenaica, from the general interests and politics of the mother country, a series of events, not less curious than important, connected in the closest manner the history of Greece with the annals of the Persian empire.

Darius

Darius Nothus terminated his active and prosperous reign the same memorable year that Athens became subject to Sparta, and the Peloponnesian war was brought to a conclusion.—His wife Parysatis, an artful and ambitious woman, employed all her influence over an old and uxorious husband, to obtain the kingdom for Cyrus, her younger son and peculiar favourite; but the dying monarch persisted in appointing Artaxerxes his successor to the throne.

The rivalship of the two brothers, who were both at court during the last illness of Darius, unhappily degenerated into enmity. The birth of Artaxerxes had happened before the accession of his father to the throne; while, on the contrary, Cyrus was born the son of a king. This circumstance greatly increased the indignation of the younger brother. The same distinction had occasioned Darius Hystaspes to prefer Xerxes, the younger of his sons, to his elder brother Artabazanes. The precedent, thus established by such an illustrious monarch, might have been thought sufficient to reinforce the partial arguments of Parysatis; and the merit and abilities that Cyrus discovered at a very early age, and which would have enabled him to fill the most difficult and to adorn the most exalted station, might have contributed to confirm his title to the throne.

When he was only seventeen, the provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had been deputed to the care and jurisdiction of this young prince. The same mandate of Darius, however, that destroyed his hopes of obtaining the throne of Persia, appointed him hereditary and perpetual governor of the above-mentioned districts.

On

On the death of Darius, Cyrus, with the three hundred heavy-armed Greeks under the command of Xenias, an Arcadian, who had accompanied him to Suza, prepared to leave the Persian court, and to return to the government of his provinces; but when he was about to commence his journey his departure was retarded by a base and nefarious intention. Tissaphernes, to whose jurisdiction Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, had been committed previous to the time in which Cyrus became governor of those valuable districts, was now at the Persian court; and, hoping to share the spoils of the young prince, accused him of treason. Artaxerxes gave orders that Cyrus should be apprehended; but the powerful protection of his mother, who, though she loved only one, was beloved, or at least feared, by both her sons, defended his life, vindicated his honour, and restored him in safety to his dominions in Asia Minor. Cyrus, whose heroic fortitude was known, was not much affected with the danger that had threatened his person; but the insult offered him by his brother sunk deep into his heart. From the moment he recovered his liberty, he determined to revenge the injury done him; and by force of arms to obtain possession of the Persian throne, or to perish in the attempt.

The young prince, being of a magnanimous disposition, naturally preferred the road of danger and glory for asserting and vindicating his independence; nor did he think it sufficient to punish the injustice of Artaxerxes towards him. He made such preparations as might enable him to dethrone his brother, and to usurp the dominion of Persia; defended as it was by a million of

mise was sacred, and his friendship sincere and inviolable. During the thoughtless and giddy season of youth, the admonitions of age and experience were not neglected; opulence, birth, and rank, had for him no allurements; age and virtue were the only objects of his respect; and his conduct, equally deserving and singular, was justly and universally admired and applauded.

By the most important services, he had deserved the gratitude and the esteem of the Lacedæmonian republic; which, merely by his assistance, had been raised to the sovereignty of Greece, and to the command of the sea. In return for the favours received from the Persian prince, the Spartans readily granted his request; and sent into Asia a body of eight hundred heavy-armed men, under the command of the intrepid and warlike Cheirisophus. Samius also, the Spartan admiral, who had succeeded Lysander in the command of the fleet on the Ionian coast, received orders from his government faithfully to co-operate with Cyrus, and to employ his powerful armament in whatever service the Persian prince should think proper.

This behaviour of the Spartans might alone have been well approved by Cyrus, and considered as a grateful return for the favours they had received; especially as by their alliance his possessions on the side of Europe were perfectly secured, and he was enabled, without fear of danger, to withdraw the garrisons from the western parts of his dominion, and thus to augment the strength of his army. But the zeal and attachment of the Spartans carried them still farther: he was permitted to raise forces in any part

part of their dominions: and the generous munificence of Cyrus had obtained numerous partisans, properly qualified to collect and to command these valuable levies. Of the Grecians devoted to the interest and glory of the Persian prince were Clearchus the Spartan, Menon the Thessalian, Proxenus the Bœotian, Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan. These generals soon raised from their respective republics more than ten thousand heavy-armed men, and nearly three thousand archers and targeteers.

The haughty indolence of the Persians was lulled into security, and deceived by the silence and celerity with which Cyrus made his preparations. Alcibiades, however, who then resided at Grynium in Phrygia under the protection of Pharnabazus, was apprized of the designs of Cyrus. Moved by resentment to Sparta, or ambitious of obtaining the favour of Artaxerxes, he requested the Satrap to allow him an escort, that he might undertake a journey to Suza, and acquaint the Persian monarch with the vast preparations and hostile intentions of his brother. But Pharnabazus, though he possessed not the merit, desired the reward of the discovery. Instead, therefore, of complying with the request of the unfortunate Alcibiades, he gratified the selfishness and cruelty of the Lacedæmonian government, as we before had occasion to observe, by the destruction of the Athenian exile.

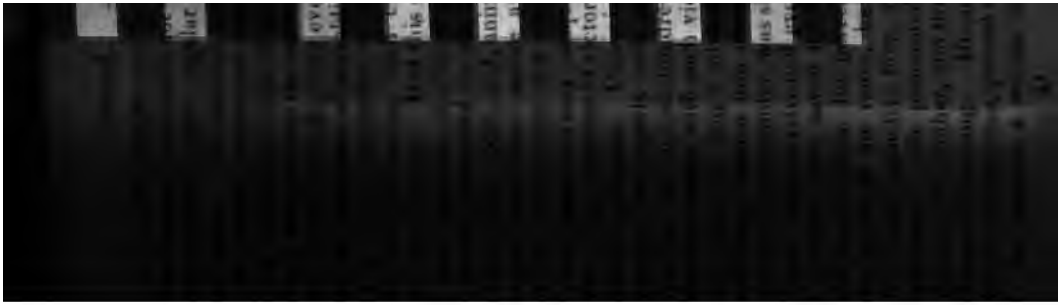
Nothing, however, could rouse the Persian monarch from the profound security of his repose. Cyrus completed his levies without molestation, and almost without suspicion; and

he

B. C. 400. he prepared to march from the Ionian coast into Upper Asia, with an army of one hundred thousand barbarians, and more than thirteen thousand Greeks. His forces having assembled at Sardis, the Persian prince was carried, by the activity of his resentment or ambition, with the utmost celerity towards Upper Asia. In a journey of twelve hundred miles, his forces encountered fewer difficulties than might have been expected. They travelled through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; they traversed the mountains of Cilicia; and passed, without meeting resistance, through Syria: they then crossed the Euphrates, at Thapsacus; and, after penetrating the desert, entered the territory of Babylon.

Advancing through the desert into the plains of Babylon, he met, near Cynaxa, the numerous and formidable army of Artaxerxes. Clearchus posted the Greeks near the river Euphrates, lest they should be surrounded by the enemy. Cyrus desired him to advance opposite to the king's guard; because, if they should be broken, the enemy would immediately give way on all sides. The Spartan general replied that he considered it necessary to remain in his present situation, and that he would be careful to do every thing in his power to ensure success.

This disobedience of Clearchus, and the impetuosity of Cyrus, however, destroyed the fortune of the day, in which the fate of Persia and the renown of Greece were alike involved. Clearchus, by skilful evolutions, eluded the armed chariots and cavalry of the enemy; and the martial appearance and acclamations of the Gre-



from an unknown hand, which only served to increase his fury. He fell, however, soon after in the tumultuary contest of his attendants, with the guards of the king. Eight of his most intimate friends were slain in the assault, and thus sealed with their blood the affection and fidelity they entertained for a beloved master.

In the meanwhile, Clearchus, at the head of the Grecian phalanx, pursuing the fugitives, was carried to a considerable distance from Artaxerxes. When he was given to understand that the barbarians had possessed themselves of his camp; and perceived that, tired and laden with plunder, they were advancing to attack his rear, he faced about in order to receive them. The enemy's cavalry made various dispositions until sunset for receiving the attack of the Greeks; but neither the generals nor the forces they commanded durst approach within the reach of the Grecian spears. Wherever Clearchus and his brave troops advanced, they fled with the greatest precipitation and disorder. Wearied with marching against an enemy that seemed unwilling and unable to fight, Clearchus determined, at length, to return to his camp; wondering that neither Cyrus nor any of his messengers appeared.

When he arrived at the place of his encampment, in the beginning of the night, he found the tents in disorder, the baggage plundered, and the provision destroyed or spent. Cyrus had provided four hundred carriages of wine and flour, as a resource in time of need; and the loss of these was chiefly regretted by the Greeks. The troops of Artaxerxes had rifled the carriages; and the Greeks, whom the sud-

den

den app[illegible] of t[illegible] er [illegible] had not allowed to dine, w[illegible] r [illegible] neces[illegible] also of passing the night without food. They were likewise extremely exhausted by the exertions and fatigue of a laborious day, and perplexed in their minds by their uncertainty of the fate of their allies.

At the approach of day, they prepared to move their camp, when they received intelligence of the death of Cyrus. They also learned that Ariæus, the new commander of the Persian troops belonging to Asia Minor, had assembled his forces in their former encampment, where he purposed to continue during that day, in order that the Greeks might have time to join him; but if they delayed he intended to march the next morning towards Ionia. As soon as the consternation of the Greeks had somewhat subsided, "Would to Heaven," said Clearchus, "that Cyrus were alive! but since he is not, let Ariæus know, that we have conquered the troops of Artaxerxes, and that as there is no enemy to resist our arms, if he will come hither we will place him on the Persian throne."

The next morning, however, heralds arrived from Artaxerxes; amongst whom was Philinus, a fugitive Greek, esteemed by Tissaphernes. This man, speaking for his colleagues, commanded the Grecians in the king's name, to lay down their arms, and to beg the monarch's pardon at the gate of his pavilion. This order was heard with universal indignation. One desired him to tell the king to come and take them; whilst another observed that it was better to d than deliver up their arms. Xenophon spoke the following effect: "You see, O Phili

that we have nothing left, but our arms and our valour. While we possess the one, we can avail ourselves of the other; but, should we be induced to deliver up our arms, we shall be obliged to surrender our persons. Think not, therefore, that we will throw away the only advantages we enjoy. On the contrary, be assured that, relying on our weapons and our valour, we will dispute with you the advantages which you possess." These sentiments of Xenophon were enforced by Clearchus and the rest of the army; and Phalinus, unable to discover the immediate designs of the Greeks, returned with his colleagues to the Persian camp.

In the mean time, Ariæus sent deputies to inform the Greeks that there were many Persians of greater consideration than himself who would not permit him to be their king. He desired they would join him with all expedition; and observed that, if they delayed, he would return with all haste to Ionia. The army, therefore, immediately marched, in order of battle, to the encampment of Ariæus. An alliance was entered into between the Persian and Grecian commanders, by which they bound themselves to perform to each other the duties of faithful and affectionate confederates. This treaty being ratified by a solemn sacrifice, they deliberated on the plan of their intended journey; and it was at length determined that, instead of traversing the desolated country through which they had passed, their course should be directed northward; where they might hope to avoid the desert, acquire provision in plenty, and cross the great rivers which diminish near their source, with less difficulty and danger. It was also resolved

solved to perform their first marches with as much expedition as possible, that they might get out of the reach of the king's troops.

It is evident that the plan proposed had the appearance of a flight; but fortune directed them more gloriously. The Grecian firmness and courage had a powersul effect on the counsels of Artaxerxes, who sent heralds the following to treat with them about a truce. Tissaphernes, in the name of the king, concluded that agreement with the Greeks, which proved so calamitous but honourable to them in its consequences. The satrap engaged, on the part of his master, to furnish them with provision, to procure them friendly treatment in the countries through which they passed, and to conduct them faithfully into Greece. On the other hand, the Greeks covenanted that they would abstain from ravaging the territories of Artaxerxes, and that they would pay for any supplies that were granted them.

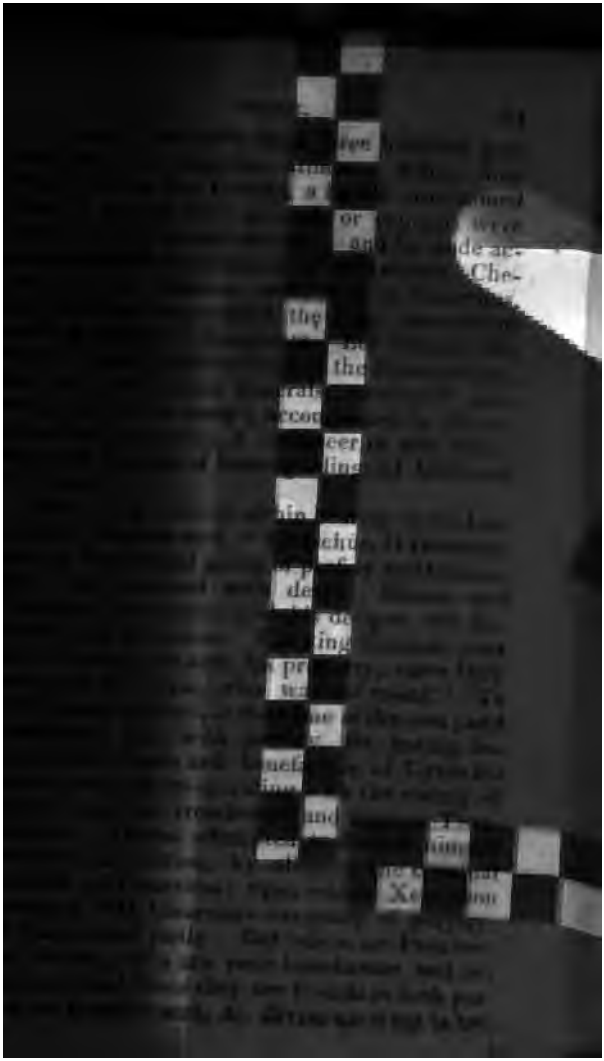
Tissaphernes, however, though he had promised to hasten his return from the king, delayed twenty days. During this time, the Persians availed themselves of the opportunity of practising with Ariæus. That barbarian, by the allurements of rewards, or the dread of punishment, but still more, perhaps, by the warm solicitations of his relations and friends, was totally detached from the interest of his Grecian allies. Previous to the arrival of Tissaphernes, the Greeks greatly suspected the designs of Ariæus; but no sooner did the satrap return than the two Persian armies encamped together. For some time, however, no open hostility was committed; and the Greeks, according to treaty, were

furnished with a market. But Tisapherne deavoured to encrease the difficulties of journey; and led them, by many windings turnings, through the canals and marshe tween the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Having arrived on the banks of the rive bates, which flows eastward from the moun of Media, the Grecian generals, and par larly Clearchus, who had long seen and lar ed the unfortunate jealousies that had arise tween the Greeks and Persians, proposed a ference of the commanders, that they migh plain and remove the obstacles of agreei This measure was agreeable to all, and wa mediately acceded to. Five generals and t ty captains of the Greeks, accordingly rep to the camp of Tissaphernes; only two-hun soldiers followed them, under pretence of to market. The Grecian generals, Clear Menon, Agias, Proxenus, and Socrates, conducted into the apartment of the sa This separation occasioned distrust; whicl heightened by observing that the barba were provided with arms. Soon after, u signal being given, those without the were cut to pieces, and the generals a hended.

When the Greeks, in their encampment, received intelligence of the treacherous co of the Persians, they ran to their arms, ex ing an immediate assault. The cowardly b rians, however, instead of attempting to ac plish their designs by open and honourable continued to employ artifice and perfidy.

They sent Ariæus, Arteazus, and Mithri *persons* of great credit with Cyrus, to the



to be done," To this request, reasonable and just as it appeared to be, the barbarians could make no answer; and, having conferred a while together, they departed to their camp. Their mean duplicity in this interview sufficiently indicated the unhappy fate of the Grecian commanders, who were kept for some time in close confinement, and afterwards sent to Artaxerxes, by whom they were put to death.

CHAP. XII.

The Affairs of Greece, from the Commencement of the memorable Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks under Xenophon, to the Peace of Antalcidas.

THE terror and alarm which had hitherto prevailed in the Grecian camp were now converted into consternation and despair. The afflictions of the Greeks seemed completed by the dreadful catastrophe that had befallen their unfortunate commanders. They were twelve hundred miles distant from their native land; without friends, and without allies; hemmed in by rivers and mountains, which now appeared as so many insurmountable barriers; and threatened by famine and the resentment of a treacherous and perfidious enemy. They reflected that it was dangerous to depart, and still more dangerous to remain. Provision could only be procured by the point of the sword. Every country would

ould be hostile to them; and when they had onquered one enemy another would be ready receive them. They had no cavalry to pursue he barbarians in their flight, or to elude their ursuit: victory itself would be almost fruitless; ut defeat would be certain ruin.

These considerations, together with the fanied inspiration of a dream, impelled Xenophon o undertake, amidst the general dejection and lismay, the care of his own and the public afety. An assembly of the captains being conened, he represented to them faithfully the resent situation of affairs; but exhorted them, t the same time, not to suffer themselves to fall nto despair. All the arguments that religion, hilosophy, and experience could suggest, were rged by him; to encourage them to expect sucess from their own bravery and the favour of leaven, and to disdain any offers of accommoation from men whose perfidious friendship had een more hurtful than their open enmity.

They all applauded the sentiments of the thenian; and Cherisophus, the Spartan geneal, exhorted them without loss of time to elect ommanders in the room of those whom they ad lost. Timasion, Xanthicles, Cleanor, Phiysias, succeeded the late generals; and Xenohon supplied the place of Proxenus. They deermined to disencumber themselves of all unnecessary baggage, which might impede their narch, and to explore the sources of the Tigris nd the Euphrates. Their army they intended o form in a hollow square; and thus to oppose he valour of their battalions, on every side, to he enemy.

The Greeks consumed the greater part of the da

day in preparations for their departure; and
the afternoon, having crossed the Zabatus, t
troops pursued their journey, in the dispositi
already mentioned. They had not, howev
proceeded far, when the Persian archers a
slingers began to harrass the rear of the arm
To repel these light skirmishers was no very ea
matter; but to attack them in the assault, wit
out suffering considerable loss, was impossib
They could not be overtaken by the heav
armed soldiers, nor even by the targeteers, i
little time; and the enemy could not be pursu
without part of the army being cut off. Xe
phon, however, made an attempt; but many
his men were wounded, and he brought
troops back to the camp dispirited and d
graced.

The Greeks now found the want of cavalry a
of light-armed soldiers. They therefore equ
ped fifty of their baggage horses; and two h
dre Rhodians were drawn from the ranks, v
furnished themselves with slings and leaden ba
which they threw twice as far as the stones e
ployed by the barbarians. Of these men, fi
were mounted, and provided with buff coats
corslets; and Lycius, an Athenian, was
pointed to command them. The utility of th
preparations was soon visible, when the ene
renewed the assault with a thousand horse
four thousand slingers. The Persian detachm
had no sooner approached within the reacl
darts, than the horsemen of Lycius fell furiou
on them, and they fled in scattered disor
The Greeks pursuing, took many prisoners;
in order to create the greater horror in the mi
of these cowardly and perfidious enemies,
bodies of the slain were terribly mangled.

A

by them. The Tigris, on their left, was so
and rapid that the passage appeared ab-
tely insurmountable; and, nevertheless, it
thought necessary to pass the river. Hav-
received intelligence, however, that the
through the country of the Carduchians
ld conduct them to the spacious and plentiful
inces of Armenia, they marched thither;
ardless of the report that a hundred thousand
ians had been defeated, and cut to pieces by
e fierce barbarians. When they approached,
Carduchians betook themselves to their fast-
es, and left the houses and villages in the
n to the mercy of the invaders. The troops
no injury; but they could not procure, by
r inoffensive behaviour and invitations of
ce, the friendship of those men, who were
common enemies of the Greeks, the Persi-
, and the whole human race. Every oppor-
ity was taken to impede the march of the ar-
These barbarians were not reserved for a

rior knowledge in tactics, and their valour, repelling or eluding the attacks of these dange ous enemies; who did them more hurt in sev days than the Persians did in as many weeks.

At length, however, they arrived at the riv Cantrites, which forms the boundary of Arm nia; and, during the month of January, th traversed the fruitful plains of that countr Teribazus, the Persian governor of the provin entered into a treaty with the generals, to supp them with provision, on their abstaining fr hostilities; but, he having treacherously brok the treaty, the Greeks had immediate recou to arms, pursued the perfidious governor, a plundered his camp. The day following a m dangerous occurrence befel them. Being oblig to encamp in the open air, without fire and v tuals, the snow fell in such quantities during t night, that the men and their arms were co pletely covered. Some lost their sight by t glare of the snow; and others were so benumb with the piercing coldness of the north wi that they were deprived of the use of their han and feet. Xenophon could scarcely keep t men in motion; who, lying down on the grou protested they would go no farther, but d there. They endeavoured to defend their ey from the effect of the snow, by wearing som thing of a dark colour before them; while th feet were preserved by continual motion duri the day, and in the night by being stripp bare.

They next approached the country of t Taochians; who, being alarmed with the rep of an unknown enemy, abandoned the villa in the plain, and, with their wives, childr a

and cattle, betook themselves to the mountains. Their provision also they carried with them; that the Greeks found themselves under the necessity of attacking those fastnesses. The barbarians endeavoured to defend themselves, by rolling large stones down the precipices on the invaders; but, when these missile weapons were exhausted, the Greeks made themselves masters of the heights, and the women threw first their children down the rocks, and then themselves. This frantic act of despair was followed by the men; and the Greeks took few prisoners, but obtained a considerable number of sheep, oxen, and asses.

The army then proceeded, with great celerity, through the bleak and dreary country of the Chalybeans. The Chalybeans were the fiercest nation in all those parts: they had linen corslets, greaves, and helmets, for their defence: a short falchion was hung at their girdle; and they made use of pikes fifteen cubits in length, with which they attacked an enemy. At the approach of the Greeks, they were so far from betraying any symptom of fear or of flight that they sung and danced. They boldly defended their villages and property; and the Greeks could obtain no supply from this warlike but inhospitable people.

They now passed the river Harpasus, which divides the territories of the Chalybeans and Scythians; and met with no opposition during their journey through the country of this latter people. When they had arrived on the top of mount Theches, a place held in particular devotion by the inhabitants, the vanguard alarmed the rest of their army with their acclama-

tions. Xenophon, who commanded the rea hearing the noise, concluded that the army w attacked by an enemy; and therefore advanc with all expedition to the assistance of the comrades. But, having arrived nearer, th were seized with the most pleasing sensation when their ears were saluted from every quart with the cry of "The sea! the sea!" The were filled with transports of tumultuary jo at the sight of an object which they had so lo wished in vain: it recalled to their minds mo distinctly and forcibly the recollection of the parents, their friends, their relations, their cou try, and every thing dear to them. The so diers, with tears in their eyes, embraced ea other, and then their commanders; the symp thetic affection was communicated to the whc army, and became so great that a monument stones was reared on the occasion. This mou was covered with the arms of barbarians, whi was intended as a trophy of their memorab march through so many hostile and populo nations.

The distant prospect of the Euxine sea, whi they had now discovered, occasioned the Gree to forget that they were nearly sixty miles fr it; and that the territory which intervened co sisted of the trackless forests of the Macronia and the abrupt and intricate windings of t Colchian mountains. By means, however, o person among the Grecian targeteers, who u derstood the language of the barbarians, a had been carried when a youth to Athens, whe he had served as a slave, they were enabled hold friendly intercourse with the Macronian who supplied them with provision, and co

duct

ities of the ground would break the ranks
e Greeks; and the centre becoming disor-
, the enemy, by means of their superior
ers, would outreach either wing of the
. It was, therefore, at first agreed to ex-
he phalanx in front; and there being very
nen left in file, the front of the Greeks
l nearly equal that of the Cochians: but
afterward found necessary to divide the
-armed men into companies of a hundred
and that every division should compose a
ite column. In this form, attacking the
y, they completely routed them; and now
themselves within two days march of the
e sea, and no enemy able to oppose their
ge thither.

ne phalanx was a company, and frequently the body of an army, arranged in such order, that their h was almost incredible, and they could endure any however violent. Polybius describes the phalanx

Amidst the formidable hostility of numerous nations that inhabited the banks of the Euxine, several Grecian cities arose at different intervals, which enlivened the gloom of barbarism, and displayed the superiority and glory of arts and arms. None, however, was more ancient or more renowned than Sinope; situated on a narrow isthmus, annexing a fertile peninsula to the province of Paphlagonia. This city had sent out many colonies to different parts of the east and west; in one of which, named Trapezus, or Trebisond, the Greeks met a friendly reception, after they had spent more than a year in almost continual travelling and warfare.

After staying here for some time, and celebrating with much pomp and festivity the gymnastic games and exercises peculiar to the Grecian nation, Cherisophus was dispatched to the Hellespont, to procure ships from Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral in that sea. Several weeks elapsed, in which they heard nothing of Cherisophus, or of any assistance from the Spartan admiral. They, however, collected such a number of vessels as might serve to transport to Cerasus the aged, the infirm, the women, and baggage; while the strength of the army passed by land.

Having remained here for some time, to dispose of the booty they had acquired, to procure necessaries, and to review their army, which was found to consist of eight thousand six hundred men (the rest having perished by fatigue, war, cold, and sickness), they pursued their journey through the country of the Mosynæcians. They next proceeded through the districts of the Chalybians;

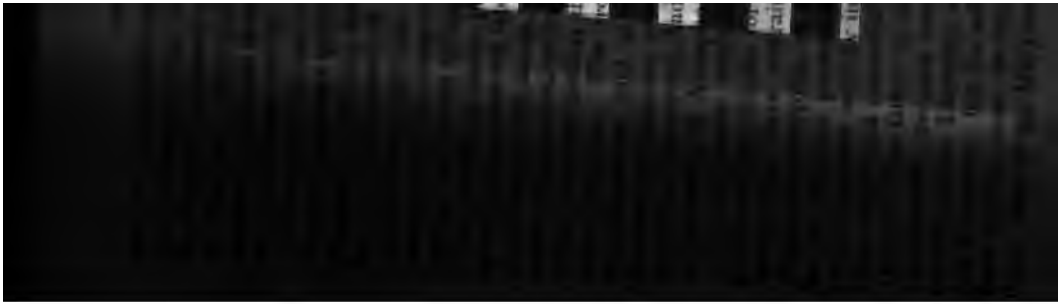
halybians; and arrived in the country of the yberenians, who treated the Greeks with much endship and respect, and conducted them with uch kindness and civility to the city of Coty- a, a colony of the Sinopians.

It might have been expected that the Greeks, aving arrived among their friends and rela- ons, would have been disposed to enjoy in eace and security the fruits of their past la- ours and dangers; and, if they were not in- lined to expose themselves to the hostilities of he inhabitants of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, hey might have waited until ships had arrived rom Sinope and Heraclea, or from the Spartan dmiral in the Hellespont. But it is a more dif- icult matter to conquer the passions than to vercome an external enemy. The nearer they pproached their native country, in the more eal danger did their apparent security involve hem. They had baffled, during the course of a long and laborious journey, the open attacks nd insidious conduct of the hostile barbarians, whose country they had traversed; but the air f a Grecian colony dissolved the discipline and nion which the fear of the enemy had hitherto preserved. While in the east, the Greeks had cted with unanimity and friendship; they now began to feel the fatal effects of their provincial distinctions. Separate interests and opposite designs influenced the army: the wealthy were desirous of returning to their native country; while those who had accumulated no riches proposed to plunder equally friends and foes, Greeks and barbarians. The generals of the army held in contempt the troops that served under

under them; whilst the soldiers clamour against and insulted their commanders.

Xenophon, whose designs and intentions have been fully justified by himself, was ambitious forming a settlement of Grecians on the co of the Euxine; which might soon render its superior to all the other colonies in that neighbourhood, or perhaps to any in Asia. On southern shores of the Euxine, there were ma large and majestic forest trees, well adap for the building of ships. There were also c venient harbours for vessels; and the neighbo ing territory abounded with flax, iron, and ev other commodity necessary for raising and s porting a naval power. But this noble desi which might have been extremely useful honourable to the army, was defeated by mean distrust of the enemies of Xenoph They accused him of forming wild and dang ous schemes; insinuating that his intentions w to keep the soldiers from home, that they mi continue his dependents; and, while they ris their own safety, procure for him fame and tune.

While they remained at Heraclea, Cher phus returned with vessels from the Spa admiral; but the number was not sufficient transporting the whole army. Chagrined this disappointment, and discontented with conduct of their commanders, the troops for a rash and dangerous project of dividing separate bodies, and of prosecuting their j ney through Bithynia to Byzantium, a dista of two hundred miles. In this expedition Greeks lost above a thousand men; but the struction would have been much greater,



ful tribe of Upper Thrace. Medocus, having been long connected with the family of Seuthes by the ties of hospitality, generously entertained the father; and, after the death of Mæsades, extended his benevolence to his son: but the young prince, being of an independent spirit, requested Medocus to grant him horses and soldiers, that he might attempt to regain the possession of his paternal dominions. He also sent to Xenophon Medosades, a Thracian, who, understanding the Greek language, served him in the capacity of an ambassador; and, by the liberality of his offers, induced the Grecian leader (at the expence of much fatigue and hardship to his troops) to give him effectual assistance in recovering and greatly extending his dominions. The army of Xenophon, however, was called away to engage in a more honourable war; which the resentment of Artaxerxes against the presumption of the Spartans, for supporting the unfortunate rebellion of Cyrus, had kindled.

After the downfal of the Athenian greatness, several circumstances contributed to render Persia an enemy to the Spartans. The sovereignty they possessed over all Greece, the conquests they had made on the coasts of Asia, the extent and pre-eminence of their naval power, and, above all, their open participation in the rebellion of Cyrus, excited the resentment of the Persian monarch. Their power rendered them the rival, but their assistance of Cyrus made them the enemy, of Artaxerxes. He therefore resolved to chastise their audacity; and communicated his intentions to Tissaphernes, who was sent to the possession of his hereditary province in Caria, and who had had all the property of Cyrus bestowed

bestowed on him for his recent fidelity and services.

He was also commanded to execute the vengeance of the king upon the cities in Asia that belonged to the Spartan commonwealth. He therefore attacked, without the formality of declaring war, the Æolians; while the satrap Pharnabazus entered into his views, and concurred in all his measures. The Lacedæmonian garrison, supported by the townsmen, resisted the enemy, and defended themselves with great courage. They, however, sent to Lacedæmon messengers, earnestly soliciting such a reinforcement of troops as might enable them to repel the enemy, and retain possession of their cities.

The Spartan senate, that they might not be wanting in affording their allies every necessary assistance, levied without delay an army of five thousand Peloponnesian troops and three hundred Athenian horsemen. Thimbron, the Spartan, obtained the command of these forces; and had orders, as soon as he arrived in Æolia, to take into his pay the Greeks who had engaged in the expedition under Cyrus, and who were now employed in the dishonourable service of an ungrateful barbarian. The perfidious and mean conduct of Seuthes, who, after his first successes, had much neglected his Grecian auxiliaries, and though a prince retained his original manner of a Thracian robber, made the proposal of joining his forces to those of Thimbron very agreeable to Xenophon. Six thousand men, therefore, the venerable remains of an army that had suffered so many hardships and dangers, ranged themselves under the standard of Sparta.

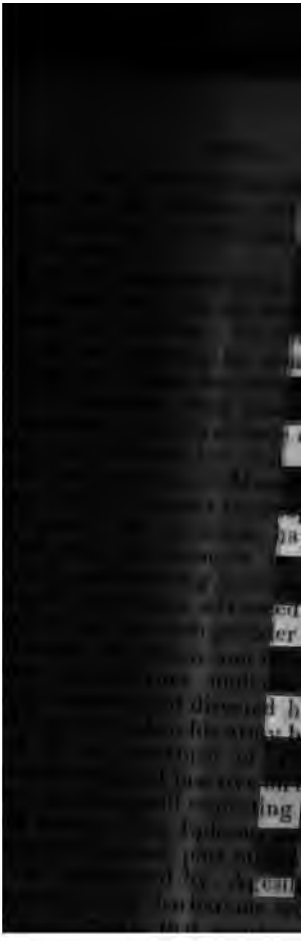
Thimbron

Thimbron opened the campaign against th lieutenant of Artaxerxes; and was at first suc cessful. He took or regained the towns of Per gamus, Teuthrania, Halisarnia, Myrina, Cyme and Grynium: but the walls of Larissa, a stron town in the Troas, defeated every effort for it reduction. The vigilant garrison, assisted b the inhabitants of the place, made a vigorou sally, repelled the besieging army, and burne or otherwise destroyed their works. The Gree troops, composed of a motley assemblage fron almost every Grecian community, could only b restrained from licentiousness by constant actio and uninterrupted victory. Their mutinous spi rit made them extremely formidable not only t each other, but to the Greeks of Asia. Complain was therefore made to the Lacedæmonian gu vernment of the rapacity of the troops; whos violence was ascribed to the weakness of the ge neral.

In consequence of these representations, Thim bron was deprived of the command, and dis graced; and the Spartans appointed Dercyllida to be his successor. This man was possessed o very fertile resources; and could vary his con duct without changing his principles. He knev when to relax, and when to exact the obedienc of the soldiers; and to the qualifications of a general added the reputation of being the bes engineer of his time. The machines of war which Dercyllidas invented or improved, occa sioned the reduction of Larissa in a little time and such was the rapidity of his conquests, an the moderate use he made of victory, that th one recommended him to the Spartan senate while the other endeared him to the colonies o Asia

sent and future actions would be similar to those which the Greeks had already experienced, frankly confessed his suspicions of treachery. Being unwilling, however, to embroil his country in an unnecessary war when peace might be obtained, he dispatched Dercyllidas and two other Spartans, to renew the late engagement with Tissaphernes. The perfidious Persian again swore to the fidelity of the engagement; and broke the solemn ties for the last time. When he had received the reinforcements which he had so long expected, Tissaphernes gave orders to Agesilaus to quit Ephesus, and evacuate the Asiatic coast; and, if he refused to comply with these demands, the satrap threatened to employ the whole weight of the Persian arms in enforcing obedience. The friends of the Spartan general were alarmed at this unexpected command: but the prudent or pious Agesilaus seemed more cheerful than usual; and observed that he rejoiced to commence a war under such favourable auspices, in which the gods would undoubtedly revenge their own cause, and punish the treachery of Tissaphernes.

In the mean time, the Spartan general prepared to encounter the insidious arts of the Persian with equal but more innocent address. Caria was the favourite residence of Tissaphernes, which he had beautified and adorned by many voluptuous parks and palaces, and strengthened with a fortress, in which was deposited all his wealth. Agesilaus industriously propagated a report that he intended to march into this province, to plunder and lay waste the possessions of Tissaphernes. In order to render this report more credible, he gave commands to the



field, the Spartan commander declared that should no longer be satisfied with ravaging extremities; but was determined to enter Ly and attack the centre of the Persian domini Tissaphernes, however, still remembering first stratagem of Agesilaus, again condu his troops to the banks of the Meander, and inforced with the flower of his army the sev garrisons in Caria. But the satrap was gre disappointed in supposing that Caria was main object of approaching hostilities. Spartan general was too able a warrior to peat the same game: he therefore, on this o sion, carried into execution the design he publicly avowed; and, marching his troops the interior of Lydia, advanced towards royal city of Sardis, and ravaged the w adjoining territory, without encountering opposition. He had already acquired n booty, and shaken the fidelity of the Lyd before Tissaphernes, apprised of his real in tions, could hasten to the relief of the cou Knowing that the infantry of the satrap had had time to arrive, he resolved to give b to the Persian troops before the whole of forces should be assembled; and, after se successful skirmishes, the Persians were defe in a general engagement, on the banks of river Pactolus. The camp of the enemy surrounded and taken; in which, besides riches, were found seventy talents of silver.

After this battle, the Greeks were at lib to plunder and ravage the whole countr they thought proper. Tissaphernes, their fidious and unrelenting foe, suspecting the of the engagement, had taken the opportu

of throwing himself, with a considerable body of troops, within the strong walls of Sardis. Here his cowardice prompted him to reside; and he displayed the inglorious pride of pomp and luxury, while his master's valuable provinces were suffering under the despoiling hand of a victorious invader. The time of his punishment was, however, fast approaching: his whole life had been uniformly wicked and disgraceful; but his last action had brought dishonour on the arms of Artaxerxes, and rendered the whole country an easy prey to the hostile invaders. The king therefore cancelled, by one stroke of royal ingratitude, the merit and services of innumerable perfidies and cruelties committed in order to promote the interests of the Persian monarch. Tithraustes was sent from Suza to seize this powerful satrap. Fearing, however, that he might become a very dangerous enemy, Artaxerxes gave him orders to act with wariness and caution in this enterprise. Accordingly, Tithraustes requested Tissaphernes to confer with him on the plan of operations intended to be pursued in the next campaign. The obnoxious satrap, not suspecting the design formed against him, attended without a sufficient guard; and was seized, and his head struck off by the commands of the king.

Tithraustes had come from Babylon, escorted by a numerous and powerful body of cavalry; and he was now appointed, by the royal mandate, governor of the provinces of Asia Minor, and commander of the armies employed against the Greeks. Having removed the only rival who had interest or ability to oppose the execution of his commission, he sent an embassy to the

the Spartan general: and, that he might i
Agesilaus to enter into his views, he mad
very considerable presents. He propose
the Asiatic cities should enjoy their lil
provided they paid their customary trib
the king, and Agesilaus, with his troops, r
ed into Greece. The Grecian command
plied that the alternative of peace or w
pended not on himself, but on the determi
of the assembly and senate of Sparta: th
Greeks considered it as more honourabl
glorious to take spoils from their enemie
to receive presents from them; and t
could not withdraw his army from th
without receiving the express command
republic.

The artful satrap, perceiving the impos
of interrupting, determined at least to
the course of hostilities. He knew pe
well the use of money as an instrument o
ciation. The tranquillity of the provinc
der his own particular government was
fore purchased with a very large sum; an
silaus, considering it as a matter of little
tance what part of the dominions of Pers
invaded, removed his forces out of Lydi
marched again into Phrygia, the provi
Pharnabazus.

Whilst the Spartan general was pursu
journey northwards, he received a lette
the magistrates of Lacedæmon, testifyin
grateful acknowledgments and admira
his conduct. The term of his comma
also prolonged; and the care of a numero
that had sailed from Greece two years be
order to co-operate against the common

trusted to him. This fleet, consisting of gallies, was commanded by Pharax; and uring the glorious victories of Agesilaus, ned very signal and meritorious services. erxes still carried on those naval prepara- which had first alarmed Greece. Nume- ad powerful squadrons were equipped in eral ports of Phœnicia and Cilicia, and maritime provinces; so that the Persian as much superior, in point of strength, to hole naval armament of Greece; but the at and active Pharax prevented the union se squadrons. The rebellious viceroy of afforded every necessary for his fleet; had even entered into an alliance with . Cyprus, Rhodes, and the several ports Grecian cities in the Carian Chersonesus, friendly, and open to his cruisers. The n admiral availed himself of these oppor- s of annoying the enemy. The hostile were strictly guarded; he divided or ned his armament according as the exi- of affairs seemed to require; and he not prevented the enemy from making a de- on the Peloponnesian coast, but even de- their ships from navigating the Asiatic

rta, however, had no sooner conferred this and unprecedented honour on Agesilaus, ich the command of the armies by sea and vas confided to him, than, unmindful of the es and activity of Pharax, he removed that leserving officer from the office of admiral, ubstituted in his place Peander, who was f his near relations. This man was indeed ssed of the ambitious valour and manly firmness

firmness characteristic of the Spartans: b
wholly deficient in the experience and a
requisite for the discharge of so impo
trust.

Agesilaus still continued in Phrygia;
ing and desolating the province of Pharna
and obliging the satrap, who was unable
pose the irresistible force of the Grecian
to fly from post to post, and at length
sively to quit every part of his valuabl
vince. The camp of Pharnabazus was sur
ed and forced by a detachment of troo
under the command of Spithridates, and
valuable booty was found in it. The f
these victories and exploits procured gr
spect for the Grecian troops, and inspi
neighbouring countries with terror. Co
Corylas, the king of Paphlagonia, who di
the alliance of the Persian monarch, hum
quested that his numerous and invinci
valry might be incorporated with the
troops.

Deputies were sent from the inferior
of the Persian monarch, soliciting the fa
the Spartan general; in the expectation
unknown dominion of Greece would b
tolerable and lighter than the oppressive
Persia, which they had long experience
rigorous and severe. The deceitful
who had shared the guilt but not the puni
of Cyrus, could never be reconciled t
xerxes, against whom he had once r
The situation he had formerly held,
wealth which he possessed, gave him gr
unlimited influence over the numerous
ans that followed the standard of Cyr

were so much discontented with the op-
ions under which they suffered that the
of revolt might again be easily kindled.
Asia Minor was now in commotion.
t, under the discontented and factious Ne-
, had already rebelled; and Agesilaus, at
ead of about twenty thousand Greeks, and
nost innumerable body of barbarian allies,
t very naturally expect to shake, if not
urn, the throne of Artaxerxes. He cor-
did form the design of attacking the Per-
monarch in the centre of his dominions,
ie might disturb the tranquillity and repose
joyed at Ecbatana and Suza. In this he
robably encouraged by the experience of
phon, his friend and admirer, who was
mpanion of his arms, and the partaker of
ory.

is probable that, had this enterprise been
taken, the success, however splendid,
l not have been followed by any solid ad-
ges; since Sparta formed too narrow and
a basis on which to support such a weight
nquest. But this design proved abortive
ans of intelligence, equally unexpected and
sing, that arrived from Greece. Tith-
s, seeing the tendency of the victories
d by the Spartan general, and desirous of
nting their effects, determined, with the
bation of Artaxerxes, to endeavour to cor-
with gold the Grecian councils; knowing
he pride and oppresion of Sparta towards
neighbours and allies, ever since it had
ne the master and arbitrator of Greece,
niversally disgusted the other states, and
excited

excited a discontent which was ready on the occasion to break out into rebellion.

The unsuspecting confidence of Pisander newly created admiral of the Spartans, lef Cretan and Ægean seas very carelessly gua This neglect was not unperceived by Tithrau who dispatched Timocrates, a Rhodian, Greece—a person well qualified by bribes address to gain over to his party the di tented and factious of the Grecian people, were the enemies of Sparta. Timocrates ca with him no less a sum than fifty talents, nine thousand pounds sterling; which su distributed among the seditious citizer Argos, Corinth, and Thebes. The tyran Sparta not only resounded through the se communities of which these venal decla were members, but it was soon heard in other Grecian state. It was represented th injustice, the cruelty, and the immeasurabl bition of Sparta, had induced that haught public to make the slaves soldiers, that she thereby make her allies slaves. The inv and destruction of the Elean territory, sac the Gods, was arraigned in terms of the gr reproach. It was intimated that every Grecian community must expect the same unless they prepared, whilst it was in power, to resist the oppression of the La monian republic; for that the conques Sparta, in Asia, were pursued with no other than that of lulling the security of Greece thereby enslaving more effectually the nation.

But, however considerable were the d

nich he thus occasioned among the com-
s of Greece, the strength and power of
were so well known, and the valour of
us was so renowned, that none of the
states inimical to the interests of Lace-
had the courage openly to declare war.
various but secret conferences, they de-
d to attack Sparta by means of its faith-
s the Phocians. They persuaded a fierce
olent people that inhabited a territory in
ghbourhood of Phocis, to levy contribu-
om a district to which they could have
pretensions. This country had been the
of much altercation, and had occasioned
disputes between the Thebans and the
ns. The latter people, however, took up
consequence of this late aggression, and
d to revenge the injury done them;
the Thebans, on the contrary, prepared to
ie injustice of the Locrians. It was ex-
, and the expectation was fulfilled, that
irtan commonwealth would soon interfere
atter which so nearly concerned the inte-
her faithful allies of Phocis.

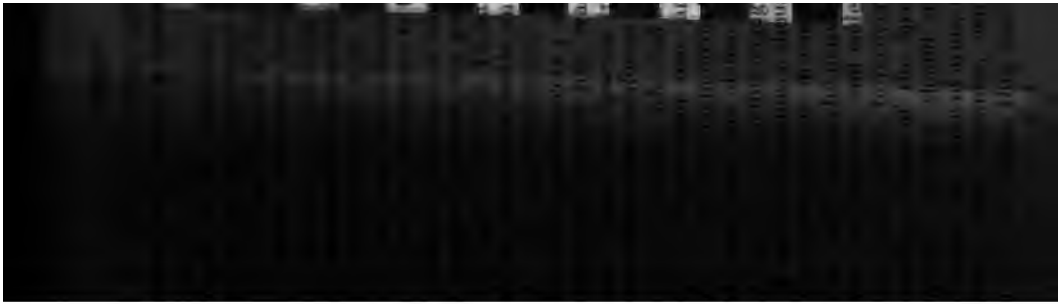
Locrians applied to Thebes for assistance,
was readily granted them; and the Pho-
ddressed themselves to Sparta, acknow-
; they were the aggressors, but declaring
ey had been obliged to have recourse to
or the defence of their territories. The
le pride of Sparta, always ready to inflict
eatest severities for the most trivial of-
was inflamed by the supposed injury their
ad suffered; and thus conspired with the
ie expectations of the Thebans. Lysan-

der, though now an old man, grew extremely uneasy at the inactivity of his life; the Thebans also had become obnoxious to him, because they had assisted Athens in shaking off the yoke of the thirty tyrants; and he therefore persuaded the ephori and senate once more to entrust him with the command of an army.

As soon as Lysander had prevailed in this request, he began to make preparations for commencing hostilities: and, having assembled the Maleans, Heracleans, and other northern confederates of Sparta, he put himself at the head of a powerful body of troops, and penetrated into the Theban territories; whilst Pausanias the Spartan king, with six thousand Peloponnesians, co-operated with this experienced commander, and attacked Bœotia on the side of Cithron. Lysander, having reduced several towns in the territory of Thebes, purposed to march against Hiliartus; and, sending notice to Pausanias of his intentions, desired him to hasten thither with his troops. The messenger, however, was intercepted; and the letter, in which Lysander had signified his purpose, and appointed the time and place of rendezvous, was carried to Sparta.

When this useful intelligence was made known to the Thebans, there arrived in their city a large reinforcement of Athenian troops; whom, though their own capital was defenceless and without walls, Thrasybulus had persuaded to brave the resentment of Sparta. To these auxiliaries, the Thebans entrusted the defence of their city, their wives, their children, and their dearest interests; and the warlike youth of Thebes

and



animated by their recent victory; that t
forces of the enemy were more numerous th
the Spartans under his command; and th
Thrasybulus the Athenian, an active and ente
prising general, had now joined those in t
town; determined to reject this proposal. I
thought it more advisable to condescend to i
plore the pity and the humanity of the victor
and accordingly, a Spartan herald was sent
Hiliartus, requesting leave to bury their dea
The demand was complied with, on conditi
that the Lacedæmonians immediately evacuat
the territory of Bœotia. Pausanias agreed
these terms, and retired to Sparta. When
returned to Lacedæmon, such a spirit of resen
ment appeared against him, on account of h
want of success rather than his demerit, that
was tried for his life, and condemned. He, ho
ever, contrived means to avoid capital punis
ment, and fled to Tegæa, where he sicken
and died: and his son Agesipolis, an inexpe
enced young man, succeeded to the Sparta
throne.

The defeat of the Spartans at Hiliartus co
firmed the courage of their enemies, and accel
rated the defection of their numerous allie
The republics of Thebes, Argos, Athens, a
Corinth, openly ratified and avowed the leag
that had been formed against the Spartan co
monwealth. The island of Euba, the pr
vinces of Acarnania, Leucas, and Ambrosi
the rich cities of Chalcis and the warlike pri
cipalities of Thessaly, shewed symptoms of r
volt. In order, therefore, to obviate the effec
of this almost general defection, and to hind
the rest of their allies from acting in the sa
manne

manner, it was found necessary to recal Agesilaus from his Asiatic victories, that he might prevent the ruin of his country. Accordingly, the fatal commands were received at the important crisis of his fortune. He had prepared his levies, and was about to march into upper Asia, rejoicing in the prospect of conquest and of glory, when he was summoned to return to the defence of Sparta. B. C. 394.

He immediately made known the orders which he had received from his country; while his troops besought him, by tears and intreaties, not to obey the cruel mandate, but to lead them against the central possessions of the Persian monarch. The Spartan general, however, remained firm and inflexible to his purpose; resolved to set bounds to the triumphs of his arms in the east, and to pursue less promising but not less necessary views. Accordingly, he immediately prepared for his return to Sparta; and marched his troops, amounting to about ten thousand men, into the Chersonesús. He then traversed the same countries into Greece, through which Xerxes had marched near a century before; but what the Persian monarch performed only in the space of a year, Agesilaus accomplished in a month.

He continued his journey through Thessaly; and, entering the territory of Bœotia, marched towards the Theban frontiers. He found the enemy rather provoked than discouraged, by a bloody but undecisive battle that had been fought against the Lacedæmonians, on the borders of Corinth and Sicyon. The troops of the confederates amounted to twenty thousand men: and the army of Agesilaus, having lately received

ceived great reinforcements from Sparta, other cities that still retained their fidelity that republic, were about the same numbe The hostile battalions began to approach e other. The Lacedæmonian troops marche good order along the banks of the Cephiss while the Theban soldiers descended, with g impetuosity, from the mountains of Helicon: before they arrived in the Bœotian plains of ronœa, an eclipse of the sun alarmed both arm

Here it was that Agesilaus received very expected and unpleasing intelligence from A He had imprudently committed the comm of the Lacedæmonian fleet to the obstinacy inexperience of his kinsman Pisander; wh the Persian squadrons were entrusted to Co and Pharnabazus, two officers of great exp ence. The combined armament of Persia sa in quest of the hostile fleet. As they turned northern point of Rhodes, they beheld the cedæmonian squadron, amounting to near a h dred ships, in a capacious bay of the Do shore. The sullen obstinacy of Pisander did appear shaken by the approach of so formidi a fleet; and he instantly commanded his me prepare for battle. Accordingly, the Lace monians bore up to engage the enemy; but a nearer view, being terrified at the great su riority of numbers, the greater part of th turned their vessels towards the friendly sho Cnidus. Pisander advanced in his galley meet the enemy; and died fighting bravely defence of the honour of his country. The tors pursued and sunk great numbers of the my's fleet: they also captured fifty gallies, wh h ey safely carried off.

Agesi

Agesilaus, on receiving these unwelcome tidings, was sensible that the consequences of this engagement would be the defection of all the cities, from Cnidus to Byzantium. He therefore assembled his troops, and informed them of the death of Pisander; but carefully concealed the defeat of the fleet, asserting that, though the admiral was slain, a complete victory had been obtained over the Persian squadrons. He then gave orders that acknowledgments and sacrifices should be offered to the Gods; and, decorating himself with a chaplet of flowers, set the example to his men of performing this pious service. This had the desired effect; and the Lacedæmonian troops were elated with the thoughts of the exploits which their countrymen had achieved in the east.

In the mean time, the main bodies of the hostile armies advanced into the plain of Cheronæa. Agesilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans began the engagement with great impetuosity, and bore down every thing before them; but the troops immediately under the command of Agesilaus repelled the left wing of the army, consisting chiefly of Argives and Athenians. The Spartan general was already saluted as conqueror by the troops that surrounded him; when he was informed that the Orchomenians had been repulsed and put to the rout. In order, therefore, to intercept the Thebans, who were hastening to seize the baggage, Agesilaus marched towards the left wing of the army. The Thebans, perceiving this movement of the enemy, attempted to join and rally their allies, that fled towards the mountains of Helicon.

The

The Spartan king, instead of allowing the ene
to pass when he might have attacked their fl
and rear with great advantage, boldly oppo
their progress, and assailed them in the fr
Here, says Xenophon in the energetic and
mitable language of Greece, the shock
dreadful. Their shields meeting clashed; t
fought, slew, and were slain; no voice
heard, yet none was silent: the field re-oun
with the noise of rage and battle; and this
the most desperate and bloody scene of an
tion, which was itself the most desperate
bloody of any in that age.

At length, the Lacedæmonians, finding it
possible to break the firmness of the The
front, were obliged to make use of the exp
ent they had at first rejected; accordingly, t
opened their phalanx to let them pass, and t
charged them in the flank and rear. The T
bans effected their passage to the Helicon;
could not prevail on their allies to renew the
gagement. The Spartans were, therefore,
masters of the field of battle; but it was a
tory so dearly purchased that the conque
could reap no beneficial consequences.
next day, the victors employed themselve
erecting a trophy on the scene of this impor
action; and the enemy sent a herald to req
permission to bury their dead.

The battle of Cheronæa, and the naval
gagement off Cnidus, were the most consid
ble and decisive actions in the Bœotian or
rinthian war. The inhabitants of Corinth
greatly promoted the alliance of the Gre
and other states against the Spartan comm
wealth. No sooner, however, did the Co
th

feel the effects of having the seat of war
r own country than they repented of the
re they had so rashly recommended; and
ore wealthy inhabitants desired a separate
to accomplish which they intended to
on an assembly of the people, who might
e on what was most expedient to be done.
whilst this was in agitation, Timolaus and
nthes, the mercenaries of a barbarian slave,
evertheless, the pretended patrons of Co-
n liberty, contrived to anticipate a design
avourable to their interests. They com-
, in conjunction with others of their party,
the most horrid massacres recorded in
. On the Eucleian festival, when many
citizens were in the market-place, or
bled at the dramatic entertainments, an
was made by the partisans of democracy.
Corinthians were destroyed, whom they
ered as most likely to oppose their mea-
and the great body of the people, when
perceived that nothing could restrain the
f their persecutors, and that neither tem-
or altars afforded any protection, prepared
e their country. They were, however,
ned from executing this design, by the la-
ble cries of their wives and children; and
declaration of the assassins themselves,
sured them that their only intention was
ver their city from traitors, who were the
s of Sparta and of slavery.

he mean time, the patriotic Conon, who
no personal reward for the services he
ndered the Persian monarch, employed
our with Artaxerxes to retrieve the affairs
country. This was the honourable mo-
tive

tive that had alone engaged, and that still retained him, in the service of Persia. By his representations, he inflamed the resentment which both Artaxerxes and Pharnabazus had justly harboured against Sparta. He persuaded them to send a fleet, early in the spring, to ravage the coasts of Greece, and retaliate the injuries received by the victories of Agesilaus. He told them that, to humble completely the Spartan pride, they should raise Athens to the pitch of greatness at which she once stood, and make her again the successful rival of that imperious republic.

This proposal of the able Athenian was heard, and approved. The expenses necessary for carrying the design into execution were liberally supplied; and the Persian fleet setting sail reduced the Cyclades and Cythera, and ravaged the whole coast of Laconia. The armament then directed its course to the long-neglected harbours of Phalerus, Munichia, and Piræus. The very important task of decorating and fortifying the ancient city of Minerva was begun, carried on, and soon accomplished; and Conon, seconded by the zeal of the Athenians, in a short time rebuilt the walls of Athens, restored the city to its ancient splendour, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies.

When this mortifying intelligence was brought to Sparta, the citizens of that republic, considering the power and grandeur of a city, their ancient rival, and almost continual enemy, as the certain destruction of their own state, felt the most pungent affliction. They were now ready to abandon every other design, and to submit to the most humiliating terms; provided

B. C. 392.

led they could prevent the growing great-
f Athens, and induce the Persian monarch
thdraw his support from that dangerous
lic. That they might effect this, they sent
l successive embassies to Persia; and, whilst
paid their court to the other satraps of
erxes, they purposely neglected Pharna-
, from whom, as the victories of Agesilaus
een peculiarly detrimental to the provinces
t warlike Persian, they could not expect
avour.

ong the ministers employed by the Spar-
epublic, at the court of Persia, was Antal-
a man of whose prior history we have
count. Except the artful and daring Ly-
r, Sparta never employed a more proper
to treat with the barbarians. He is said
e been bold, eloquent, subtile, and com-
g. A master in all the arts of insinuation
ddress, he was well qualified to undertake
xecute the design on which he was sent.
t only pretended to admire the effeminate
ms and adulation of a corrupt court, but
rmed himself in every thing to the Persian
ers, and derided the severe institutions of
n country. The frugal and self-denying
ns of Lycurgus were the peculiar objects of
ntempt; but he, in a more particular man-
delighted the voluptuous, cowardly, and
lious satraps and courtiers, when he ridi-
the firmness and probity of Leonidas and
ratidas, men who had rendered signal and
tial service to Greece, at the expense and
nour of Persia.

e abilities of such a minister were also aided
e imprudent ambition of Conon. Unmind-
ful

ful of his engagements to act against the common enemy, he considered only how he might promote the interest and power of the Athenian republic. He sailed with his fleet to the Cyclades, to Chios, to Lesbos, and even to Æolis and Ionia; and, displaying the strength of his armament, endeavoured to persuade or compel them to submit again to the authority of Athens. When it was known that Sparta had sent ministers to treat with the Persian monarch, a deputation was also dispatched from the Athenian republic, with orders to act in concert with the ambassadors sent by the Bœotians and Argives. Their overtures, however, were but little regarded; while those of Antalcidas met with the warmest approbation.

The Spartans offered to resign all pretensions to the Greek cities in Asia, and acknowledge them as the dependencies of the Persian monarch; and they promised to promote the future prosperity of the king's dominions, by settling the affairs of Greece in such a manner as should best suit the conveniency and the wishes of Artaxerxes. For this purpose, they were ready to declare all the cities and islands, of what extent soever, altogether independent of each other; in consequence of which there would be no republic sufficiently powerful to disturb the tranquillity of the Persian empire. These terms of peace, which the most insolent minister of the king could alone have dictated, were transmitted to Suza by the satrap Terribazus, to be approved and ratified by Artaxerxes. Antalcidas received a pecuniary reward for his services; but the unfortunate and patriotic Conon was punished by immediate death, or sentenced to an ignominious

nominio ...rs are not agreed as to the ... worthy man: but his actions confer o... an important place in the rank of Grecian w... ...s; and his son Timotheus supported ...rivalled the character of an illustrious father.

It might have be... ex... that the conditions of peace offer... by ... would have met no opposition from ... Persian c... ; especially as the advantages th... h... Artaxerxes were extremely gre... t. T... n... ci... ons, however, were suffered to ... u... for several years. This delay was occ... ned by the removal of Teribazus from his pl... of viceroy, who was succeeded by Struthas, ... greatly devoted to the interests of Athens; a... by the powerful solicitations of the Bœotian and Argive deputies, who represented the designs and sincerity of the Spartan commonwealth in a very unfavourable point of view.

Whilst the court of Suza refused to confirm and ratify the treaty of peace, the war in the Grecian states was pursued with unremitting vigour. The harvests and the villages belonging to the enemies of Sparta in Peloponnesus, were destroyed by the Lacedæmonian garrisons of Sicyon and Lechæum: and, on the other hand, the Bœotians and Argives retaliated those injuries upon the Spartans, by making several hostile incursions into the Lacedæmonian territories, which they ravaged and laid waste; while the Athenians, as if they had obtained the sovereignty of the sea, made every preparation to man and equip their fleets.

The ancient and well-merited fame of Thrasybulus had, during the latter part of Conon's ...

been eclipsed by the recent and more daz
splendour of the renown of that illustrious
nian; while Athens approached towards p
and independence, by the exertions of C
the extraordinary abilities, and still more e
ordinary fortune of Thrasybulus, in rescuin
country twice from the yoke of tyrants, se
almost forgotten by the ungrateful Athe
But, after Conon had been put to death, o
prisoned, Thrasybulus was entrusted with
command of the fleet of Athens, consisti
forty sail. With this armament he scoure
Ægean sea, and directed his course to the
lespont; persuading or compelling the in
tants of Byzantium, and of several other
cian cities, to break their alliance with Sp
to abolish the aristocratical form of governm
and to accept the friendship of Athens.

The isle of Lesbos was the next object to v
he directed his attention. The Spartan p
was here maintained by a considerable bo
troops. Thrasybulus landed his men or
island; and engaged the enemy in a ge
battle, in which he obtained a complete vi
killing with his own hand Therimachus
Spartan governor, who commanded the h
troops. On this the principal cities of L
immediately submitted to Athens. Thus
rious, he sailed toward the island of Rh
where he knew there still existed a pow
faction in favour of the Athenians; but, b
he proceeded to that important place, he th
it advisable to multiply the resources and
firm the affections of the fleet.

That he might raise supplies, therefore
this exigency, he visited most of the mar

cities of A... At length, he entered the mouth of the riv... medon, and began to levy a very heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Aspendus; but, though the barbarians had endured with great patience and servility the depredations to which the... were often exposed, they could now suffer th... no longer. They could not brook the unfeel... rapacity and intolerable exactions of the so... and sailors under the command of Thrasy... us. Attacking, therefore, the Grecian camp d... ng the night, the security of the Athenian gene... was surprised; and he fell a sacrifice to the e... he had committed.

The unjust treatm... t of Aspendus, one of the interior cities of Pa... aylia, a province that acknowledged the power of the Persian monarch, furnished Antalcida with a sufficient argument for prosecuting his suit with Artaxerxes. That vigilant and artful minister did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of rousing the resentment of the king against the Athenians, his ancient and inveterate foes. It is, however, doubtful whether Antalcidas would have been able to effect his purpose, and to procure the ratification of the treaty of peace, had not the mad imprudence of the Athenians, in affording assistance at this critical juncture to Evagoras king of Salamis, in his attempt to throw off his dependence on Persia, decided the fluctuating irresolution of Artaxerxes, and crowned the triumphs of Antalcidas.

This extraordinary measure of the Athenians determined Artaxerxes to espouse the cause of Sparta. Accordingly the king dictated the terms of peace, and in nearly the same words, that Alcibiades had first proposed. B. C. 387.

By this treaty it was agreed that the Per
monarch, in conjunction with the Spartan
public should make war upon any commu
that should reject the conditions of the peac
It was foreseen that Athens, Thebes, and A
might refuse the terms of a treaty propose
their avowed enemies: Antalcidas accordin
aided by the Persian monarch, equipped a
powerful armament; and the preparations n
in Asia and Greece intimidated the confeder
and compelled them to comply with a peac
disgraceful as it was injurious. The Boe
cities were acknowledged as independent;
the Greek cities in Asia, the island of Cy
and the peninsula of Clazomene, were made
ject to Persia. Athens was allowed to r
the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Syros; bu
the other republics, small and great, were r
free and independent.

Amidst this universal obsequiousness of
Grecian communities to the haughty deman
Persia, Evagoras was the only person that d
to oppose the execution of the terms of the tre
he asserted the independence of Cyprus, and
pared to resist the commands of the king, a
set the power of Artaxerxes at defiance.
goras confided in the resources of his own
rous mind, in the superiority of skill whic
seamen possessed, and in the assistance of
king of Egypt; but the numerous and pow
squadrons of Terribazus, which he had prep
for this purpose, blasted all his hopes. His f
were discomfited in a naval engagement;
territories were ravaged; and he was oblig
shut himself up in Salamis, which the en
threatened with a siege. His enemies, ho w

did not venture to interfere, nor to drive him to despair, therefore permitted him to retain the possession of the ancient principality of Teucer, but as a tributary to the Persian monarch. B.C. 385.

CHAP. XIII.

Affairs of Greece from the Peace of Antalcidas to the Battle of Midea.

THE peace of Antalcidas forms an important but disgraceful epocha in the annals of Grecian history. The valuable colonies in Asia, which had been the cause and the object of so many wars, were now fully acknowledged as dependencies of the Persian king. Artaxerxes arranged the plan of domestic policy to be pursued by a people that, less than two hundred years before, had given law to his ancestors. The Greeks now found their ancient confederacy dissolved; their smaller cities were freed from dependence on the more powerful republics; the whole nation was disunited, and weakened; and they experienced the languor, without the benefits, of peace.

Ambitious of the sovereignty of Greece, Sparta saw with concern the walls and fortifications of her rival rebuilt, and Athens endeavouring to regain the command of the sea; Thebes and Argos disdaining to acknowledge her pre-eminence; the inferior states of Peloponnesus obeying with reluctance the summons to arms;

the valuable colonies in Macedon and Th
joining the confederates. Scarcely a vestig
mained of the trophies which had been erect
a war of twenty-seven years: the colonies i
east were irrecoverably lost; and this rapi
cline of power had been principally occasi
by the splendid victories of Agesilaus in .

These were probably the causes that m
Sparta to solicit and promote a treaty, so p
nant with ruin and destruction to the se
communities of Greece. The first victim o
ambitious policy was the flourishing repub
Mantinæa, situated in the center of Arc
which was itself in the middle of Peloponn
Under pretence of their having furnished th
gives (the avowed enemies of Sparta) with
during the late war, the inhabitants were o
ed to demolish their walls and abandon
city; and, on their refusal, the Spartans
menced a long and violent siege against it, w
was only terminated by the Mantenæans b
compelled (after an obstinate and honourabl
sistance) to yield to the insolent demand, an
linquish for ever their native place. The
ons also which prevailed in Phlius furnishe
Spartans with an opportunity of displayin
same domineernig and tyrannical spirit, in i
fering with the internal affairs of that state

Complaints, however, which were mad
them in their self-assumed character of art
tors of Greece, against the Olynthians, c
them greater difficulties. These people, wh
arisen from a mean origin, had gradually
conquests of the southern shores of Maced
and of several parts of their neighbouring c
try of the Chalcidica; and it was from two
side

able cities of the latter, Acanthus and Apol-
, that the present application proceeded.
Lacedemonians engaged in this undertaking;
notwithstanding the loss of two whole ar-
, with their generals Eudamidas and Teleu-
they persevered with the assistance of Amyn-
ting of Macedonia, and formed the siege of
thus. The Olynthians, pressed by famine,
obliged to capitulate. They ceded all claim
ie sovereignty of the Chalcidica, restored
Macedonian cities to their rightful owner,
engaged, by solemn contract, to obey in
e and war the commands of their Spartan
ederates and masters. Amyntas then for-
the place of his royal residence, and re-es-
shed his court at Pella; which became,
thenceforth continued, the capital of Mace-
a.

æbidas, who was intended to follow Eubi-
nto the Chalcidican territory with a power-
einforcement, knowing the distracted state
hebes at this time, and, as it is said, having
ved private instructions from his govern-
, seized upon Cadmea the Theban citadel,
ommanded Ismenias and other lead-
f the popular faction to be taken in-
astody. The Spartan senate, that
might avoid the blame which this action
d undoubtedly occasion, deprived Phæbi-
f the command of the army, and mulcted
in the sum of one hundred thousand drach-
*

B. C. 383.

uring five years the Spartan government
tained a garrison of fifteen hundred men
nea. The partisans of aristocracy, prot

* About 2020l. Sterling.

ed by such a body of troops, gained an absolute ascendancy over the rest of the city; and the tyranny exercised in that republic was so great that it resembled the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of the thirty tyrants at Athens. This severity drove the Thebans to despair; and the persecuted exiles abroad, and the oppressed subjects at home, were ready to embrace any measure that might seem likely to free their country from the tyranny of Sparta and the aristocratical faction.

Among the Theban fugitives, who had taken refuge in Athens during the late tyrannical proceedings of Sparta, was Pelopidas.

His birth had been inferior to none; but his private fortune was superior to all; and in the manly exercises, which the Greeks so much esteemed, he excelled every one. His attachment to democracy was hereditary; and, before the late melancholy revolution in the state, he was considered as the most proper person for administering the government.

Pelopidas held many consultations with his fellow-sufferers at Athens, about the means of restoring the liberty of Thebes. He instanced the patriotic example of Thrasybulus, who had, with a handful of men, executed a similar but more difficult enterprize, to encourage his countrymen in the undertaking. Phyllidas, whose great activity, address, and courage, entitle him to the regard of history, was introduced into their nocturnal assemblies; he was highly respected by Leontidas, Archias, and the other magistrates, or rather tyrants, of the republic; and he therefore made an entertainment, and invited those men to partake of it.

In

In th… day having made known … of the conspirators, they met at Theb… appointed. The tyrants, however, … by some means been informed of the c… acy that was meditated, summoned one o… principal persons of the plot to attend … hem, just as Pelopidas and others had put on their arms for the purpose. But the conspirato… whom the magistrates had ordered to wait on … hem, behaved with great intrepidity and dissi… ion, and quieted the solicitude of the tyra… . In the midst of the banquet, however, a … r …ived from Athens with a letter for … revealing the whole conspiracy. The … informed Archias that the person wh… … m the letter desired he would read it … r, as it contained business of import… … the letter; and, replying with a smile, "… peric business to-morrow," deposited it under his couch. Soon after, the conspirators entered dressed in female attire; and, on a signal being given, they drew their daggers, and easily dispatched the intoxicated magistrates.

The whole city was soon in commotion; and the inhabitants, alarmed and terrified, waited impatiently for the morning, that they might discover the cause of this nocturnal tumult. During a moment of dreadful suspense, a herald proclaimed the death of the tyrants, and invited to arms the friends of liberty and the republic.

Epaminondas, who had not yet joined the conspirators, obeyed with many others the welcome invitation. This youth was possessed of the most illustrious merit; the wisdom of the sage and the magnanimity of the hero shone forth

forth in his character, accompanied by
mild and gentle virtue. In knowledge an
quence he surpassed all his contemporaries
in birth, valour, and patriotism, he was n
ferior to Pelopidas, with whom he had conti
an early friendship. The doctrines of the
thagorean philosophy, which he had dilig
studied, rendered him averse from embrui
hands in the blood of his fellow-citizens
when matters were brought to their presen
sis, he appeared a firm and strenuous adv
in the cause of liberty; and his example gr
animated the other brave and generous y
who disdained the yoke of tyranny.

Preparations were now making for an e
on the citadel, in which was the Lacedæm
garrison; when several thousand men ar
from Athens, who had been sent to assi
Thebans in the meditated revolution. T
rival of those auxiliaries was very seasonabl
acceptable, and excited the Thebans to at
the citadel immediately. Pelopidas bega
siege of the place; and the garrison, intimi
by the impetuosity and enthusiasm of the
ants, and the continual increase of their
bers, offered to capitulate, on condition
ing allowed to depart in safety with their
This was accordingly granted; but no st
tions were made on the part of those unfort
Thebans who had taken refuge in the c
when the first alarm was excited in the
they fell a sacrifice to the resentment and
manity of their countrymen. A remnan
was saved by the humane interposition
Athenians; and thus was the prediction of
minondas verified, that the revolution cou

complished without the effusion of civil

e emancipation of Thebes from the yoke of
a hurt the pride and the ambition B. C.
at republic. In order, however, to 378.
h what the Lacedemonians were
ed to term the unprovoked rebellion of
subjects, Cleombrotus, their king, was
nto Bœotia in the depth of winter, to reco-
if possible, their usurped dominions. Age-
, whose ardent and aspiring mind had long
ted the ambitious councils of Sparta, found
though he enjoyed the glory, he could not
the odium which his exalted station natu-
occasioned; but, that he might not increase
ispleasure of the people, he permitted the
erience of his colleague to conduct the
of the Theban war. The severity of the
n did not allow Cleombrotus to perform any
exploit than the defeating a few straggling
es; but the presence of a Lacedæmonian
served to confirm the obedience of several
or communities. Cleombrotus soon return-
Sparta, and left the prosecution of his de-
to Sphodrias.

the mean time the Athenians, apprehen-
of being called to account for the assist-
they had given the Theban republic, had
ely disavowed what they had done. But
drias, a bold, ambitious, and rash com-
ler, was persuaded by the Theban chiefs
ack Piræus. Accordingly he marched with
lower of his army early in the morning,
cting to reach Piræus before the dawn of
He had not, however, proceeded further
the Thrasian plain before the day appear-
ed.

ed. The inhabitants of Eleusis were alarmed at the approach of the Spartan army: and information of this event was immediately dispatched to Athens, whose citizens immediately flew to arms; and preparations were instantly made for a vigorous defence. This rash enterprise, and the still more imprudent conduct of Sphodrias, in ravaging the country during his retreat, justly incensed the Athenians against Sparta. They seized the persons of several Lacedæmonians who resided in the city, and committed them to prison. An embassy was then sent to Sparta, to complain of this infraction of the peace; and to represent, in the most indignant language, the insults and the injuries of Sphodrias. The Lacedæmonians disavowed the conduct of their commander, and recalled him to be tried capitally for the offence. Agesilaus, however, at the intercession of his son Archidamus, who greatly esteemed Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, interceded for him with the Spartan assembly, and obtained his life.

But it is not improbable that Agesilaus was privy to the designs of the Lacedæmonian general; and that, though the Spartans refused to acknowledge the action, they would have instantly approved it, had the enterprise been crowned with success. In this light, at least, it appeared to the Athenians; who were still more indignant at the acquittal of Sphodrias. They immediately renewed their alliance with Thebes; and began to equip a fleet, to enlist seamen, and, in short, to make every preparation for prosecuting a vigorous war with Sparta.

In the mean time Agesilaus, with an army of eighteen thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse,

horse, continued to invade and ravage the territories of Bœotia, but performed no considerable exploits. Chabrias, the Athenian, who commanded the Theban troops, which had been lately reinforced with a considerable body of mercenary soldiers, repelled the Spartan king from Thebes, not by force, but by stratagem. The Theban army, though considerably augmented, was nevertheless far inferior to that of the enemy in point of numbers, and was therefore compelled to act upon the defensive. Chabrias had ordered his troops to occupy a rising ground in the neighbourhood of their city. The Spartan general sent a detachment from his army to compel him to quit the advantageous situation on which he was encamped; but the Thebans bravely maintained their position, and obliged Agesilaus to bring up all his forces, that he might dislodge them. In this also the Spartan general was deceived. Chabrias commanded his troops to support their advanced bodies on the left knee, to extend their shields and spears, and firmly to maintain their ranks. This was a movement equally new and unexpected to Agesilaus; and had been only lately taught the Thebans by Chabrias, to be employed on an emergency like the present. Alarmed at the boldness of this unusual array, the Spartan commander withdrew his forces from the capital, without attempting any thing more against the Theban troops in their present situation.

The Spartans now became every day less formidable to the Thebans, who were soon enabled to act offensively against the enemy. In the battle at Tanagra, Pelopidas slew the Lacedæmonian general who had succeeded Agesilaus in

the command; and, in the engagement ne
city of Tegyra, the Spartan troops were r
and put to flight, though superior in nu
This was a disgrace they had never befor
fered, and such as they could not refle
without sorrow.

Whilst those hostilities were carried c
land, the Athenians had equipped a fleet
entrusted the command of it to Chabrias.
able commander met the Lacedæmonian
dron near Naxos; and offering it battle, a
gagement ensued, in which the Spartan
ment was shamefully defeated, and lost t
six galleys. This was the first time the
nians had obtained a victory at sea, with
own ships, since the Peloponnesian war.
the principal scene of action was the Ionia
where Timotheus and Iphicrates
every where victorious against the
manders that opposed them. In
quence of these repeated defeats, the na
Sparta was totally ruined; the coasts of L
were ravaged by the victors; and the i
Corcyra, Zacynthus, Leucadia, and Ceph
suffered greatly. The more remote islan
cities acknowledged the power of the co
ors; and Chios and Byzantium, deserting
involuntary connexion with Sparta, once
concluded a treaty of alliance with the Atl
republic.

B. C. 376.

While the Greeks were engaged in tho
structive measures which, though they su
not the spirit of the vanquished, tended c
to weaken the conquerors and the conq
Artaxerxes endeavoured, by bribes an
mises, to interrupt the hostilities of the G

and to promote among them universal
lity. The Persian monarch was induced
e the reconciliation of the communities
ce, that he might obtain their assistance
his rebellious subjects in Egypt. The
es of Sparta and Athens were now tired
war: the former had every thing to lose,
latter nothing to gain, by its continu-
The emissaries of Artaxerxes, therefore,
a very favourable reception in both these
nities; and the resolutions of Sparta and
gave law to many of the other states of
. So uncertain and deplorable was the
on of the Greeks in general, at that time,
bout twenty thousand enlisted themselves
the standard of Persia. Iphicrates was
ded their commander; but that general,
e troops under his care, soon returned,
ted with the ignorance, pride, and timi-
f the Persians, and without performing
nsiderable enterprise.

he mean time the Thebans, elated by their
erity, refused to obey the solicitations of
erxes. While, therefore, the troops
enemies were engaged in the expedi-
t Egypt, they availed themselves of
tunity to reduce several of the
under their subjection. The
ia were levelled with the ground

A number of their citizens had united themselves together in the closest manner, and by the most solemnities. Emulation, ardour, mutual esteem, and a spirit of combination which frequently prevails in times of turbulence, had inspired them with the glorious resolution of dying in the defence of each other. This association originally consisted of about three hundred Thebans, whose valour and fidelity had been experienced, and of whom Pelopidas, the restorer and defender of the freedom of his country, was entrusted with the command. The great friendship that subsisted among this select body of Thebans occasioned their being called the Sacred Band. For a long succession of years, and amidst innumerable engagements, they were always victorious, wherever and against whomsoever they fought; but at length they fell, with the freedom of Thebes, of Athens, and of Greece, in the fatal and ever memorable field of Cheronea. Such were the circumstances of those two rival republics, when they were about to engage in hostilities against each other.

Several months elapsed, after the congress held at Sparta, before Agesilaus and his son Archidamus had collected the strength of Lacedemon, and the forces of their tardy allies. The old king found himself unfit to take the field in person: but he prevailed on the ephori and senate to give the command of the army to his colleague Cleombrotus; who was, therefore, ordered to march without delay into Bœotia, and to invade the hostile territory. They promised to send him more powerful reinforcements; and, for that purpose, appointed the plain of Leuctra, which surrounded an obscure and inconsiderable village

village of that name, and was situated on the frontier of Bœotia, about ten miles from the sea and from Platæa. The plain was surrounded on all sides by the lofty ridges of Helicon, Citheron, and Cynocephalæ.

Having dispersed a few detachments of Thebans that guarded the defiles of mount Helicon, the Spartans and their confederates joined forces in this neighbourhood. The Peloponnesian army amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; whilst the troops of the Thebans, that had been dispersed over all the frontier in order to oppose the desultory attacks of the enemy's cavalry, scarcely amounted to half that number. The Theban horse, however, were nearly as numerous as those of the Spartans, and far excelled them in discipline and valour. The Thebans were then exhorted by Epaminondas to march from their city, that they might hinder the defection of their Bœotian allies, and prevent the enemy from besieging them in Thebes. Accordingly they set forward, and proceeded to the neighbouring mountains; they then encamped, having a full view of the Spartans in the plain.

Both armies now prepared to engage. The cavalry of each commenced the action. The Spartan horses, having been principally employed for pleasure by the richer citizens in time of peace, were a very unequal match for the disciplined and vigorous Thebans. Their ranks were, therefore, speedily broken, and thrown into confusion, and they were compelled to fall back on the foot. The sacred band seized the opportunity to take advantage of the disorder which their repulse and rout had occa-

sioned

sioned in the army of the Lacedæmonians.
minondas contrived and executed one of t
rapid evolutions, which not unfrequently de
the fate of a battle. He formed some of
strongest but least numerous forces into a
pact wedge, with a sharp front and a spre
flank. He expected that the Lacedæmon
as soon as they had recovered their ranks, w
attack the more extended and weakest pa
his army; which, on account of the arra
ment that it had been necessary to form, se
rather prepared to retreat, than to withstan
attack.

The Theban general was not deceived i
expectations he had formed. The Laced
nians pressed forward against the right wi
the enemy, where little or no resistance wa
perienced. In the mean time he urged for
his left with great impetuosity; and, ass
the flank of the Spartans, obliged them to
way. Epaminondas and his troops soon
ed at the post of Cleombrotus. The Lac
monians perceiving their king in danger,
degenerate disciples of Lycurgus were re
to their ancient principles. The bravest
most vigorous of the Spartans hastened
every part of the army to defend the per
their prince, and to cover him with their sh
For some time the impetuosity of the Spa
bore all before them, and the Thebans we
pelled in turn; but the Spartan horsemen
formed the body guard of the king, bei
length cut off, Cleombrotus fell on his brea
or expiring defenders, pierced with
wounds.

The death of this chief added fury to th

tle. Then it was that anger, resentment, and despair, agitated by turns the breasts of the Spartans. According to the superstitious ideas which then prevailed, the death of the king was considered as a slight misfortune, when compared with the disgraceful impiety of permitting his body to be mangled and disfigured by the enemy. Every exertion was therefore used to prevent this abomination, and they succeeded in their endeavours; but they could achieve nothing more. Epaminondas was careful to fortify the ranks of his army, and to maintain that order which was necessary for ensuring success. He gained a complete victory over the Spartans; who, betaking themselves to flight, were pursued by the Thebans, and great numbers of them slain. The principal strength of the allies had, during the greatest part of the battle, remained inactive; but when they understood that the Spartan king was slain, their wavering irresolution was decided, and they retreated with the rest of the army. Epaminondas did not pursue the fugitives to their camp, which was strongly fortified, and could not be taken without great loss; but, having buried the dead, he erected a trophy on the field of battle. When the Spartans were out of the reach of danger, and had time to reflect on the extent of their misfortunes, they were actuated by shame, grief, and despair; and became sensible that, on no former occasion, the interests of their republic had suffered so severe a wound. The Lacedæmonians lost one thousand, and the allies two thousand six hundred men; whilst the Thebans had only three hundred men killed, B. C. 370.

killed, among whom were only four of their citizens.

No sooner was the intelligence of the battle of Leuctra diffused over Greece, than all Peloponnesus was in commotion. The Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives, with the other Grecian communities which Sparta had either influenced by her councils or intimidated by her power, openly aimed at independence. The inferior republics expected to be freed from the heavy contributions with which they had hitherto been burthened, and that they should not be compelled to go to war on every trivial occasion; while the more populous and powerful states breathed nothing but hatred and revenge, and gloried in the prospect of being able to humble the proud and insolent senators of Sparta.

The republic of Athens, however, acted a very different part. Immediately after the engagement at Leuctra, the Thebans had dispatched a messenger, adorned with the emblems of peace and victory, to inform the Athenians of the particulars of the battle, and to invite them to enter into an offensive alliance against Sparta. But Timotheus and Iphicrates, who at that time presided over the Athenian assembly, determined to humble, not to destroy, their inveterate enemy. Athens had also become jealous of the power of Thebes, and was therefore still more unwilling to act against Sparta. The Theban herald was allowed to return home, without receiving the smallest satisfaction on the subject of his mission; and Athens was soon sensible that the battle at Leuctra had given her the superiority over all Greece.

battle of Leuctra was, in its consequences,
y prejudicial to the Spartan common-
: it weakened the confederacy of the
with whom they were in alliance, and
thened the power of the enemy. In the
quent period of two years, most of the
n allies in Peloponnesus shook off the
and united themselves to other states —
, on the contrary, the favour of Thebes
ought by most of the communities in Pe-
nesus; and in the north of Greece, the
nians, Locrians, Phocians, the whole
th of the continent between the Ionian and
n seas, and the isle of Euboea, increased
ower and extended the dominion of Thebes.
ns prevailed in every republic of Greece;
e aristocratical party was almost univer-
expelled and banished from every state and
city. Fourteen hundred inhabitants were
from Tegaea; and in Argos two thou-
of the aristocratical faction were slain.—
Mantinæans alone seemed to have acted
prudence; they embraced this opportunity
uilding the walls and fortifications of their
made the form of their government demo-
al, and determined to preserve the strength
ir city, which appeared so necessary for
aining their political independence.
ither the Thebans nor Spartans interfered
of these internal commotions. The for-
were too busily employed in the northern
of Greece, intending to invade and ravage
ia; and the latter were so much humbled
unfortunate battle at Leuctra that they
nted themselves with preparing to defend
anks of the Eurotas, and to repel the threat-
ene

ened assault of their capital. All the fo however, which they could possibly raise, commanded to take the field: and they on the point of giving arms to the Helots, as last resource, when the fugitives from Ar Achaia, and Arcadia, arrived, and offered services to the most ancient and distingui patrons of their political principles. Thu couraged and reinforced, the Spartans bid ance to the threats of invasion, and endeavc to recover their lost dominions in Arcadia. detachment of troops, therefore, marched the territory of that state; but the Sparta neral performed nothing decisive against enemy. He contented himself with rav the villages and fields of that delightful cou in which he met with no resistance fro enemy, who waited for a reinforcement fro Thebans, before they would commence a gagement.

At length the Thebans took the field; w army more numerous than had ever befo sembled in Greece under one standard which amounted to fifty, or as some say venty, thousand men. These forces were posed of the warlike youth of Bœotia, c Acarnanians, Phocians, Locrians, and Eub together with a promiscuous crowd of l followers, whom the prospect of plunde allured to the Theban camp. They had no arrived on the frontier of Arcadia than were joined by the inhabitants of that cou and by the Eleans and Argives. Pelopid Epaminondas commanded the Thebans. silaus, informed of the march of so power army, conducted by generals of such great

nd abilities, prepared to return to Sparta before his soldiers had seen the fires kindled in the hostile camp, by which he would avoid the disgrace of retreating before the enemy. He therefore ed his forces to defend their own country, which was now threatened with an invasion.

The Theban generals, finding the Arcadians freed from the terror and injuries of the despoiling invaders, held a council of war; in which it was finally resolved that the army should march without delay, and entering the Lacedæmonian territories lay waste the country, and endeavour to obtain possession of the capital. Accordingly, to facilitate this enterprise, the troops were formed in four divisions, and appointed to break into the province by different routes. All these (except the Arcadians who formed the fourth division) penetrated without meeting any opposition. Ischilas, however, who guarded the district of Sciritis, resolved to repel the invasion of the Arcadians, or to perish in the attempt. The example of Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, animated the breast of this valiant Spartan. He gave command to all the youth to quit the army; as he considered their lives too precious to be risked in an engagement, of which death could not fail of being the consequence. With the veteran soldiers of the army, he embraced the present opportunity of displaying his courage and patriotism. They sold their lives dearly to the enemy, many of whom perished in the contest; nor did the engagement terminate until the last Spartan was slain.

The confederate army, having assembled at an appointed place of rendezvous, marched towards Sparta, and laid waste the whole country

five hundred years, Laconia had not expe-
nced a similar calamity and had been the
ast of Agesilaus that no Spartan woman ever
w the smoke of an enemy's camp. The guards
nat defended the city were thrown into conster-
ation and dismay; the women were terrified
with the smoke and tumult of the invading army;
and the Spartans in this emergency were obliged
to arm all their peasants and slaves, whom they
usually treated with great cruelty. Six thousand
of these unhappy men were engaged by threats
and promises to undertake the defence of their
proud and inhuman masters. This measure,
however, did not abate, but increase the gene-
ral panic of the magistrates and citizens. They
considered that the men they had just armed
might probably join the enemy, and the de-
struction of the city thereby become inevitable.
But a body of Corinthians, Phliasians, Epidau-
rians, and Pallenians, arriving soon after, to pre-
vent the downfall of Sparta, though they had
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These succours being received in Sparta, t
people became elated; and the kings and mag
trates could scarcely restrain them from rush
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attended with such danger, fatigue, and
men, as the success of the enterprise co
compensate. The conduct of Agisilaus
trying occasion has been greatly and ju
tolled; he placed an ambush in the temp

daridæ, and, by this means, defeated the in-
ions of the assailants. An insurrection of a
dangerous nature having appeared in the
, he displayed great presence of mind in ap-
ing it; and while he thus overcame by force
tratagem the domestic and foreign enemies of
state, he negociated the most powerful as-
nce from Athens, which sent twelve thou-
l men to the relief of the Spartan territory.
the mean time, Epaminondas, having been
lsed from the capital, began to commit great
dreadful depredations in Laconia. He tra-
ed and desolated the banks of the Eurotas,
ch abounded in all the conveniences of life;
then assaulted Helos and Gythium, and de-
yed the villages by fire, and the inhabitants
he sword.

When Sparta had become the general arbiter
Greece, after the downfall of the Athenian
tness, the Messenians, whom the Athenians
settled in the territory of Naupactus, were
first that suffered under the oppressive con-
t of that state, and were universally enslaved,
ished, or put to death. Many of those un-
py men now flocked to the standard of Epa-
ondas, eager to retaliate the unrelenting per-
tion of a people suffering calamities equal to
e they had so often inflicted on others.

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These succours being received in Sparta, the people became elated; and the kings and magistrates could scarcely restrain them from rushing into the field, and giving the enemy battle. Agesilaus made use of this martial enthusiasm to repel the first assault of the Thebans; and convince them that every succeeding attempt to make themselves masters of the city would be attended with such danger, fatigue, and loss of men, as the success of the enterprise could not compensate. The conduct of Agisilaus on this trying occasion has been greatly and justly extolled; he placed an ambush in the temple

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ns of the [illegible]us. An insurrection of a
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hment on the Spartans. They beheld a
n which they had twice endeavoured to ex-

tirpate, revive and flourish in their neighbourhood. The discontented and factious subjects, and the slaves of Sparta, increased it by continual accessions; and the Theban garrison, together with their own personal enmity, induced the Messenians to watch every favourable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on the enemy.

This enterprise was scarcely finished when Epaminondas was informed that the Athenians, under the command of Iphicrates, were in motion. The design in which they were embarked seemed to demand great celerity. Instead, however, of using expedition, the Athenian commander wasted several days at Corinth, without any apparent necessity, or even pretence for such an unseasonable and imprudent delay. His soldiers loudly complained of this conduct, and demanded to be led against Argos, or rather to attack the Theban army. Iphicrates, however, did not think proper to comply with either of these requests; but, marching into Arcadia, remained there until the enemy had withdrawn their troops out of Laconia.

The Thebans having evacuated the Lacedemonian territory, the two hostile armies filed as by mutual consent, and returned to their respective cities by separate roads, without endeavouring to interrupt the progress of the other. The Athenians blamed Iphicrates for permitting an enemy laden with plunder and fatigued with the toil of a winter's campaign pass through the isthmus of Corinth; while Pelopidas and Epaminondas, having exceeded the term of their command, were accused and tried by the Theban assembly. The former dis-

courage than might have been expected his general character: but Epaminondas ed the superiority of a philosophical mind; instead of defending his cause, pronounced egyric on his conduct, in which he recount- without amplification or diminution, the ex- s he had performed. He concluded his ch by observing that, "secure as he was of ortal fame, earned in the service of his coun- he could submit to suffer death without re- nce." This magnanimity awed his accusers, indignation of the assembly subsided; the generals were instantly acquitted; and the ation of Epaminondas procured him as glory as the battle of Leuctra.

e Lacedæmonians soon after dispatched an ssy to Athens, requesting that the bands nity and union between the two republics t be strengthened, and the Athenians still nue their assistance. The Spartans ac- dledged that the experience, the bravery, he signal victories of that republic in naval gements, justly entitled her to the dominion e sea. Finding, however, that this conces- did not produce the desired effect, they osed that, when the two republics united forces in any expedition, the army of the dæmonians (a thing hitherto unexampled) d be entrusted, during half of the cam- ,' to the command of Athenian generals.— proposal was agreed to, and an alliance of ost intimate kind was concluded bet a and Athens.

ey also succeeded in procuring assi Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, and ersian monarch. The former, being

rian extraction, naturally commiserated the miliation and distress of a people, who ha long been the friends and ornament of the rian race. And the latter acted upon the p ciples of assisting the weaker party, tha might with greater ease rule the whole.

While the Lacedæmonians were gai strength by these important alliances, the cadians had commenced hostilities: and la waste the territory of Pallene, that had ever faithful to Sparta, burnt the villages, sto the city, and put the garrison, which cons partly of Lacedæmonians, to the sword. Theban general also marched his army s ward; but the Lacedæmonians, having obt reinforcements from Dionysius and the At ans, endeavoured to stop his progress thr the isthmus, by fortifying it. Epamino however, broke through, took Sicyon, an saulted Corinth; but Chabrias the Athenia neral, who happened at this time to be poss of the alternate command, attacked the bans, and repulsed them with great loss. minondas, therefore, returned home, whe was blamed and disgraced for his conduct.

The retreat of the Thebans conferred s dour on the Arcadian arms; and inspired comedes their general with ambitious de which he communicated to his countrym

By his suggestions they were induced t sess themselves of all the places they had from the enemy, and to complete their con in Peloponnesus.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians the command of Archidamus had take field. The rapidity of success that attende

ge

neral, who was the son of the renowned Agesaus, confirmed the prudence and foresight of e magistrates and people, in electing him commander of the army. He had regained many of he towns in Laconia; and, having entered Arcadia, laid it waste, and prepared to attack the populous city of Parrhasia. But the Arcadians, reinforced by the Argives, making their appearance, he withdrew his troops toward the obscure village of Midea. When the Lacedæmonian general beheld the enemy prepared for an engagement, he commanded the Spartans to form in order of battle, and exhorted them to strive, by one glorious effort, to regain their ancient and hereditary renown.

While he thus spoke, it thundered on the right, though the air was clear and serene — The soldiers looked from whence the noise came; and beheld in a consecrated grove an altar and statue of Hercules, the great progenitor of Archidamus and of Sparta. They hailed the happy omens; and, animated by these concurring circumstances, were transported with an enthusiasm of valour, and attacked the enemy with great impetuosity. The Arcadians, who expected they had to contend with a vanquished and spiritless adversary, were astonished at their manner of making the assault. Few of the Arcadians waited to receive the attack; but they who did were totally destroyed. The rest took to flight, but in the pursuit many thousands of them perished; while the Spartans, it is said, did not lose a man. Archidamus sent a messenger to Sparta, with the news of the battle, and erected his trophy. An assembly of the people was held, when he made known the intelligence

Th

The aged Agesilaus wept for joy at the tidings the sympathetic emotions were communicated t the ephori and senators; the amiable contagio was spread throughout all Sparta; and dissolve the sternest of the people into softness and sen sibility.—B. C. 367.

CHAPTER XIV.

Affairs of Greece from the Battle of Midea to th Conclusion of the Social War.

AFTER the daring murder of Jason, the ty rant * of Thessaly, his brothers Polydor and Polyphron succeeded to the throne. Th latter, ambitious of reigning singly, and not abl to endure a rival, assassinated his colleague, an obtained the sole dominion of Thessaly. H stern despotism, however, was abolished by th hand of Alexander; who avenged the blood o his kinsman Polydore. This is said to hav been the only meritorious action of his life; fo authors represent Alexander as one of the mo cruel and detested tyrants that have ever bee condemned to infamy by history. He treate his subjects with the greatest inhumanity; w perfidious to his allies, implacable to his enemie a robb

* The word tyrant, in Grecian history, is applied those who acquired sovereignty in states formerly repu lican. Thessaly, Sicily, Corinth, &c. were governed o by kings, but tyrants. Whereas Macedonia, that h never been subject to any popular form of governme was ruled not by tyrants, but kings.

a robber by land, and a pirate at sea. Having, by his cruelties, provoked the indignation and vengeance of his subjects, they took up arms, and solicited the assistance of Thebes. Accordingly, a Theban army marched into Thessaly, under the command of Pelopidas and Ismenias; who compelled the tyrant to submit his cause to their determination, and to agree to whatever conditions they might think proper to exact for the future security of his subjects.

This transaction was scarcely finished when the Thebans were invited into Macedonia, to settle some differences that had arisen in that kingdom. After the death of Amyntas the second, his son Alexander succeeded to the throne. Amyntas had left two other legitimate sons, Perdiccas and Philip; and a natural son named Ptolemy. Though Ptolemy could not prevent the accession of Alexander to the throne, he embittered and shortened his reign, which lasted only one year. Ptolemy then took upon himself the guardianship of Perdiccas, during his minority, and assumed the reins of government as protector of Macedon. It soon, however, appeared that he was not satisfied with the power of regent. He contrived to win over great numbers to his interest; and, baffling the opposition of the friends of Perdiccas, usurped the sovereignty. In this emergency, the partisans of the unfortunate prince requested the interference of Thebes. Pelopidas, therefore, marched an army into Macedonia, released the numerous exiles whom Ptolemy had driven into banishment, asserted the just rights of Perdiccas, and, having received hostages from t

contend

contending factions and restored the tranc
of the kingdom, returned towards Thess

B. C. 367. While Pelopidas marched t
Thessaly without using sufficient c
having sent before him a considera
tachment of his army to guard the Macc
hostages, he was informed that Alexand
come to meet him with his mercenary
This suspicious circumstance did not un
the too credulous Theban; who imput
march of Alexander's soldiers to the resp
he desired to shew him. With great impr
therefore, Pelopidas and Ismenias put the
into the power of a man who regarded n
human or divine. He commanded them
seized, bound, and carried into Pheræ;
they were imprisoned, and exposed to th
of an invidious and insulting multitude.

When the Theban chief was seized
treachery of Alexander, it might have b
pected that the soldiers, animated with i
tion and rage, would have attempted his
Their numbers, however, were too smal
sure success. Reinforcements soon arriv
Bœotia; but they fatally experienced,
rencounters that took place, the absence
lopidas and the degradation of Epami
The army was reduced to very great diffi
unable to fight the enemy, and unwillin
from them. The soldiers, rememberin
exploits in Peloponnesus, and the still m
midable hostile army over which they
tained victory, justly blamed the inexp
and inability of their commanders. Ep
das, who at this time, served as a private

pointed general, by the unanimous con-
he troops. The face of affairs was soon
l by the abilities of this extraordinary
nd the forces of the tyrant were defeat-
compelled to retire. The Theban gene-
rever, afraid of the lives of Pelopidas and
s, would not drive him to extremities.
ered about him with his victorious army,
played the superiority of military skill
duct; and, while he endeavoured to inti-
the tyrant, left him sufficient time for re-
e and submission. This judicious plan
ed according to his wishes; and Alex-
ras glad to accept of a truce for 30 days,
lition of restoring Pelopidas and Ismenias.
e Thebes employed her arms in the
the Spartans had been enabled in some
e to regain their influence in the south
Greece. Archimadus, the son of Agesi-
d, as we mentioned before, obtained a
gnal victory over the Arcadians, who
ckoned the most powerful and warlike
he confederate states. The Lacedæmo-
nt the crafty Antalcidas, and Euthycles,
tan of great abilities and intrigue, as am-
rs to the court of Persia. Their object
hasten the supplies of troops and money,
Artaxerxes had promised. In the mean
he Thebans, understanding that Sparta
nt an embassy to the Persian monarch,
it time to assert their independence and

of the army, and Pelopidas, whose un
detention was ascribed more to the tre
behaviour of Alexander than to his ow
dence, was sent as minister to the east,
on negociations with Artaxerxes.

The confederates of Thebes, also, we
ed so send deputies to the Persian court
mote the interests of their respectiv
This measure was readily adopted;
Eleans, Arcadians and Argives, sent a
tion, in conjunction with the Theban am
The Athenians also, apprised of what
signed, dispatched ministers to manage
rests of their republic. By these mea
gress of the several Grecian states w
Asia; where it was proposed to settle a
their differences at the court, and by
vention, of a foreign prince. But whe
das, who had been sent as deputy from
mentioned as one of the articles that th
nians should be commanded to lay up t
Leon, the Athenian deputy, exclain
a freedom peculiar to his country, "T
nians must then seek some other ally
of the Persian king." On this the am
took their leave, and departed.

Pelopidas was accompanied into Gr
Persian of distinction, appointed by t
carry the treaty into effect. When t
ed at Thebes, that republic sent order
deputies of the other Grecian states to
attendance. Athens and Sparta, how
not condescend to obey the summons
congress was, nevertheless, very nume
here again Lycomedes, the represe
Arcadia, who had now conceived a ju

erform any reluctant service, permitted those
ho wished it to return; while the soldiers that
espised vain omens desired to follow their be-
oved general, who conducted them into Thes-
aly. Their allies having joined them near the
own of Pharsalus, they encamped together at
he foot of the mountains of Cynoscephalæ. An
ngagement was immediately offered by the ene-
y, who were twenty thousand strong; and Pe-
opidas, though his army was greatly inferior in
umbers, did not decline the battle. At the
irst onset, the Theban cavalry had the advan-
age; but the infantry of the enemy, having
ained the higher ground, pressed the Thebans
nd Thessalians with great vigour. In this
mergency, Pelopidas rode up to encourage the
roops, whom he led forward against the enemy,
nimated with fresh spirits. From the courage
ith which the Thebans returned to the charge,
lexander concluded that they had received re-
nforcements; and the mercenaries were imm[illegible]e-
iately thrown into confusion.

Pelopidas, perceiving Alexander as he was
ndeavouring to rally his disordered troops, ad-
anced, and challenged him to single combat;
ut, instead of accepting the offer, he retired
ehind his guards, whom the Theban general
ttacked with fury. Whilst he thus, with more
ourage than discretion, exposed his person, he
as desperately wounded by a javelin, and after-
ards dispatched by the spears of the enemy.
n the mean time, his troops, advancing to the
elief of their general, repelled the guards of
he tyrant. The Thebans and their allies gain-
d a complete victory; and pursued the enemy,
ho lost three thousand men.

The

The death of the general, however gloom over the victory. The Theba Thessalians lamented him with immode monstrations of sorrow. His body was to Thebes to be buried, attended by an i rable company of sincere mourners. The lians, considering themselves as the grea ferers by his death, requested permissio fray the expences of his funeral. T granted; and the burial of Pelopidas pe with great magnificence. The tyrant w after defeated again, and deprived of all quests. He was, however, permitted t at Pheræ; but the other cities entered alliance with Thebes.

During the absence of Epaminond the Theban fleet, and of Pelopidas i saly, the Orchomenians were excited b fugitives from Thebes to attempt over the democracy, and establishing an aristo form of government in that state. The was to have been put in execution at the review of the Orchomenian troops. however, timely discovered by the vigi the Theban magistrates; and the ca Orchomenus, to the number of three h were surrounded and cut to pieces in t ket-place at Thebes. Nor did this ve

real insignificance of Persian ostentation, d that Arcadia needed not the alliance of erxes; and that Thebes was a very im- place to hold the convention, since a con- for a general peace ought to assemble in untry that had been the scene of warfare. magistrates of Thebes beheld with disap- ient and indignation this conduct of their ian friends and of the other states. They d Lycomedes as a traitor to Thebes, and my to the real interests of his country. owever, deigned not an answer to these nd empty clamours; but quitted the as- y, and was followed by the other deputies adia. The Corinthians, also, openly de- that they saw no occasion for entering e treaty with Persia. The Thebans there- ere obliged to dissolve the assembly, with- ving obtained any thing favourable to their sts; but they attempted, by private con- es, to court some and awe others of the an states to enter into their measures. however, had no other effect than to make veral communities of Greece resolve to op- by all the means in their power, the in- ng authority of Thebes, and to defeat the and designs of that ambitious republic. aminondas advised his countrymen to at- t by force of arms what they could not ob-

Arcadians, though hostile to each other, alike disposed to rebel against Thebes. In however, of entering their territories, and rying the war against them, which might compelled them to settle their differences cably, and to unite under the Theban sta against the common enemy, Epaminonda deavoured to extinguish their disaffection t conquest of Achaia, a province stretching the Corinthian gulf, and skirting the nor frontiers of Elis and Arcadia. The natu the Achæan government had been product peace and tranquillity to themselves and neighbours. They possessed not any larg populous towns, whose inhabitants migl roused to arms and ambition, and the whol vince thereby engaged in a destructive The cities of Phlius and Sicyon, which situated towards the east and the isthmus rinth, had long been regarded as separat independent republics of the Achæan natio

Immediately before the Theban invasio constitution of Achaia had undergone a first change. Aristocracy had prevailed, acquired an undue ascendancy. No sooner fore was it announced that Epaminondas, Theban army, had entered the frontiers of territory, than the magistrates and pri persons flocked from all quarters of the pro to meet the invading troops. Not at all an about the liberty and independence of A provided they retained their personal priv and private fortunes, they solicited by pr the favour and friendship of the Theban mander. The people, perceiving them abandoned and betrayed by those who ou

ave been their guardians and protectors, gave p all thoughts of resisting the enemy. The ibmission of the magistrates was accepted by paminondas; who received from them pledges f their engagement, that thenceforth Achaia ould be dependent on Thebes, and follow the rtunes of that republic both in peace and war.

This conquest, which was effected without riking a blow, was productive of destructive nd sanguinary consequences. Epaminondas eturned with his army to Thebes; but the Arcadians and Argives had procured several complaints to be made against his conduct in the heban assembly. Recent experience, it was id, ought to have made him remember the inonveniencies attending an aristocratical form of overnment in a neighbouring and dependent ate. These factious disturbances were secretly ncouraged by the emissaries of democracy in chaia. The enemies of the illustrious Theban ere eager to seize so favourable an opportunity f accusing and calumniating him. The Theans, therefore, were instigated to disapprove he proceedings of their general; and commissiners were sent to overturn the aristocracy, and o re-establish the democratical form of governent. Accordingly, the nobles were banished, r put to death; but, when the Theban forces were withdrawn from Achaia, the exiles returned, as by mutual consent. Being numerous and powerful, they recovered, after a bloody and desperate struggle, their ancient influence over their respective cities. The partisans of democracy were expelled, or put to death; and the successful party, sensible how dangerous it was to depend for assistance on the Theban republic,

applied to Sparta for protection. This
cordingly granted; and while the Achæ
vaged the northern, their allies of Lace
infested the southern, frontier of Arcadia

In the mean time, the war was carried
feebly by both sides. The Athenians
cadians, being disgusted with the conduct
respective allies, concluded a treaty of pe
mutual defence between the two republi
chief promoter of this measure was Lyc
the Arcadian general, who was soon aft
on his return from Athens, by a party o
dian exiles. This negotiation gave grea
to the rest of the Grecian states, whe
considered that the Arcadians, being t
of Thebes, the united strength of thes
republics was, at that time, sufficient to
and enslave all Greece. This terror
more increased, when it was known that
refused to give up those places, in the t
of Corinth, which they had only under
defend against the Thebans and Arca
The Corinthians, however, contrived,
proceeding to an open rupture, to proc
evacuation of the cities garrisoned by th
nians.

During five years, the Phliasians ha
such illustrious proofs of their fidelity
tachment to Sparta as can scarcely be
in the history of any nation. Situate
midst of their enemies, they had ever s
battle of Leuctra suffered the invasions
saults of the Thebans, Arcadians, and
The enemy had wasted their territory,
their city, and more than once made th
masters of the citadel: the whole of thei

l the territory of Elis, and made themasters of the sacred city of Olympia, in was situated the temple of Jupiter, he immense treasure which during many s had been deposited there, and divided g themselves. The Elians implored the e of the Thebans; who, being glad at ion of interference, ordered the Arcarestore Olympia; but this being refused been expected) the Thebans prepared ce their commands by arms. The Aron the other hand, appealed successAthens and Sparta against the growing and insolence of Thebes; and thus was once more involved in a general

ninondas now entered the Peloponnel marched to the very gates of Sparta. laus, however, attacked the invaders eat bravery; while his son, Archidamus, rcely an hundred men, opposed the pro- the enemy who had penetrated into the t down the first ranks, and advanced to he rest.

gh the Thebans were thus repulsed, and mising enterprise defeated, Epaminondas sink under his disappointment. Consi- hat the whole of the force which had ed at Mantinæa might probably be with- rom that city in order to defend Sparta, hed his troops back to Tegæa with all ion; and, allowing his infantry some rest reshment, sent the cavalry forward to ea, giving them orders to maintain their until he arrived to their assistance with n body of the Theban troops. He ex-

pected

pected they would have found the city wholly unprepared; but, though this plan was also well concerted, it nevertheless failed in the execution. Before the Theban cavalry arrived at the place of their destination, a numerous and powerful squadron of Athenian horse entered Mantinæa, ignorant that Sparta had been attacked, and that the allies had departed to protect that city. They had scarcely entered the place, however, when the Theban cavalry appeared; who, advancing with great rapidity, seemed eager to effect the object of their expedition. The Athenians had received no refreshment that day; the enemy were superior in number, and they were not ignorant of the bravery of the Theban and Thessalian cavalry: but nothing could subdue their resolution. Regardless of every consideration but the safety and interest of their allies, they rushed into the field, attacked and repulsed the enemy, and, after a fierce and bloody battle, which fully displayed the courage of both parties, the Athenians gained a complete victory. The conquerors erected a trophy, and the Thebans were under the necessity of craving the bodies of their dead.

Epaminondas, who had never before experienced such defeats, grew chagrined at his misfortunes, and feared lest his reputation should suffer, and the glory of his former exploits be tarnished. What added to his present difficulties was that the term of his command nearly expired; and he had scarcely sufficient time for retrieving the ill state of his affairs by achieving something worthy of himself. He therefore determined to attempt a general engagement; in which he might either ob-

ıbrance of his late disgrace, or, in
o render Thebes the sovereign of
ɔtain an honourable death.
nfederates had followed the Thebans
ly from Sparta; and, having re-assem-
antinæa, had received considerable re-
nts. Fresh succours had also arrived
:ban camp. The Greeks had never
ong themselves with more numerous
but battles became interesting not so
the numbers of the combatants as by
ct of the general. Xenophon says it
of observation to notice the military
of Epaminondas on this memorable
Having formed his men into batta-
marched them in the same order in
intended them to fight: he did not
directly towards Mantinæa; but, turn-
left, conducted them along a chain of
een that city and Tegæa, and which
e eastern extremity of both. The
:eing the movement of the Thebans,
their forces before Mantinæa. The
onians, and such Arcadians as had
emselves the most honourable, had the
é Athenians the left wing; and the
ho had now joined the confederates)
:ans were placed in the centre.
mean time the Theban commander
ıis troops slowly forward, and seemed
his circuit, that he might induce the
believe he did not intend to fight that
hen his forces had reached that part of
:ain which was opposite to the enemy,
nded his men to halt, and to lay down
the

their arms. His movements had, at first, create much doubt and perplexity in the minds of th enemy; but they were now satisfied that he ir tended to decline the engagement for the presen and to encamp where he had halted. The therefore abandoned their arms and their ranks dispersed themselves about the camp, and lo not only the external arrangement but that ir ternal preparation, that martial ardour of min which is necessary in the moment of battle, an ought to animate soldiers at the near prospect o an engagement.

Epaminondas, perceiving the situation of th enemy, embraced the opportunity so favourabl for attacking them. Commanding his men t face about, he converted the order of march int an order of battle; and by this means his troop were instantly formed, and ready to engage.- The progress of the battle that ensued was su as evinced the excellence of his arrangement a dispositions of his forces.

Having, however, exposed himself too mu at the head of the army, he was wounded by a velin across the cuirass. The wood of the strument being broken off, the steel remaine the wound, and he immediately fell. He then carried to the watch tower, where he n observe the subsequent operations of the a but with the departure of their leader, th rit which had hitherto animated the Th seemed also withdrawn. They had b broken through the hostile battalions, but not how to profit of the advantage the gained. The two contending armies pr in partial rencounters, and in different p the field: confusion and terror were ever

: as well as private, was exhausted; and could only subsist on the precarious supply ıvisions brought from Corinth, for the pay- of which they had been obliged to pledge beasts of burthen. Nevertheless, under the ıre of these multiplied calamities, their fi- was unshaken: they had refused to con- a peace with Thebes, because that republic ed them to forsake Sparta; and when, at by the apparent defection of Corinth, seemed to be deprived of the only source of tence, the Phliasians determined, with the ssion of Sparta, to negotiate with Thebes utrality alone.

embassy, therefore, was sent to Sparta, sting that the Spartans would accept the of peace lately offered them by Thebes; they deemed it inconsistent with their ho- to resign their pretensions to the territory ssene, they would at least permit their l, helpless, and suffering allies to enter separate negotiation with the Theban re- :.

the pretensions of the Spartans seem to risen in proportion as they became more e to support them. On that particular oc- , Archidamus increased the proud obsti- ıatural to that extraordinary people, by an ted speech. The speech accorded with ntiments of the people. The allies were sed, with leave to act as seemed to suit heir inclinations and interests; with as- :es that Sparta would never agree to any modation so long as Messene was unjustly ed from them. Ambassadors were there-

fore sent to Thebes, from Corinth, Phlius, and Achaia, who obtained the desired neutrality.

It is very probable that Sparta, thus deserted by all her allies, must in a little time have fallen the victim of her pride and obstinacy, had not circumstances, unforeseen by Archidamus, favoured that republic. Epaminondas was not satisfied with the power which Thebes had obtained by land, but he endeavoured also to make her mistress of the sea. The vigilance of Athens, however, defeated his purpose. At this time the arms of Thebes were summoned to a service which more immediately concerned their interest and their honour.

Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, began to display once more the resources of his fertile genius, and the inhumanity and cruelty of his disposition. He had collected a numerous army of mercenary troops, which he maintained with great address; and, Athens having granted him assistance, all the principal cities of Thessaly fell into his hands. The oppressed Thessalians again implored the protection of the Thebans, whose powerful assistance they had, on a former occasion, so happily experienced, and whose standard they had so unanimously and gratefully followed. The Thebans, therefore, sent an army of ten thousand men, under the command of Pelopidas, the personal enemy of Alexander; but it happened, that, while he was on his march, the day was darkened by an eclipse of the sun. The soldiers, alarmed at this phenomenon, became greatly dispirited, and many of them refused to proceed.

Pelopidas, unwilling to compel his troops to perform

ble; the Theban and Thessalian cavalry ing routed the Athenian horse pursued a; and the infantry, which had been placed ie intervals of the ranks, were left behind. n this, the Athenians commanded by Hegi- us, finding that the enemy had quitted the uit, and had directed their attention to ano- object, returned to the charge, and cut to es the body of light infantry.

lated with their success, the Athenian ca- y then turned their arms against a detach- t which Epaminondas had placed upon a g ground, for the purpose of taking the ıy in flank and rear, if they advanced from post. These troops, which consisted chiefly ubœans, were routed and put to flight, af- terrible slaughter. Upon these different ements and alternations of victory and de- the trumpets of the two armies, as if by al consent, sounded a retreat at the same

Each party claimed the victory, and ed a trophy; and both for some time refused ave their dead. At length, however, the dæmonians dispatched a herald to perform office; and the Thebans were thereby ac- ledged the conquerors. This battle, as it the greatest, was expected to have ed the most decisive of any ever it among the Greeks; but the con- nces of so severe and bloody an engage- were only a general languor and debility, observable in the subsequent operations of hostile republics. B. C. 362.

ter the termination of the contest, the prin- persons of the Theban army assembled d the body of the dying general. The sur-

Athenian commanders, had reduced seve
places on both shores from the Thracian B
phorus to Rhodes. These men, since the dea
of Agesilaus and Epaminondas, were far s
perior in abilities and virtue to any of the co
temporary generals in the other states. T
Cyclades, and Corcyra, had sent to court the
vour of a republic, whose influence enabled t
to interrupt or forward their navigation, and
encourage or destroy their commerce. The p
pulous and wealthy city of Byzantium had e
tered into an alliance with the Athenians; a
they had reason to hope that Amphipolis wou
soon become subject to them. These multipli
(and, not long before, unexpected) advantag
were the means of once more reviving the a
cient but decayed grandeur of the Atheni
state. Athens again obtained the sovereign
of the sea; for, by great exertions, that sta
had equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, a
the best half of her citizens and subjects we
employed in navigating ships of war or of co
merce.

Though the Athenians were sometimes c
rected by persons of integrity and virtue, of p
triotism and magnanimity, they too often liste
ed to the counsels of many whose characte
were the reverse; for he who could best off
the incense of adulation, and deceive the peopl
was most certain of their confidence and esteem
Such qualifications as these enabled the turbu
lent, licentious, and dissolute demagogues, a
in a word, the orators who most resembled th
audience, generally to prevail in the popular a
sembly. The reward which real merit deserve

W

rried off by specious and even noxious

principles and manners like these, it very difficult task for a daring and pro- leader to involve the Athenians in de- e most extravagant, dangerous, and un- Chares was a person every way qualified per for an undertaking of this nature. a martial appearance, was blunt in his of great valour, but of a selfish and us disposition. He was of a gigantic sta- id robust in his person; his voice was ading, and his manners haughty. He positively, and promised boldly; and sumption is said to have been so great concealed his incapacity and defect of dge, not only from others but even from . Though Chares was an enterprising cessful partisan, he was extremely defi- the great duties of a general. His im- ons appear more striking and palpable e compare his abilities and conduct with f Timotheus and Iphicrates, his contem- s.

e two Athenian commanders pre- ress as much as by force. They nquests to the republic by the tion, and justice with which quired, and with which the be governed. Chares prop it mode of administration: ntrymen to plunder the wealt s and allies, that they might su of their treasury, and purchase es which they considered as essentia

enemy anos and mediately antium, to siege. This es from those strength, and yzantium. ach other, e, how- which ma-

their happiness. This counsel was too pl
not to be faithfully obeyed. The vexati
ciently exercised against the allied and
dent states were again renewed; and,
sible, exceeded. Those whose weakne
them no other resource than complain
avenging their injuries, preferred many
strances against Athenian rapacity and o
sion; but thelarger and more populous isl
Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, together with t
of Byzantium, made preparations for rev
and mutually engaged to assist one anot
procuring liberty and independence.

Chares, who was the adviser, and pr
also the chief instrument, of those m
which occasioned the revolt, was ordere
B. C. a numerous army against Chios;
358. a powerful fleet, under the comm
Chabrias, was also commanded to
pared for the same station. According
troops being put on board, the armament
toward that island, with an intention of
the capital. The confederate revolte
ned of the preparations making a
rected had already drawn all their force
triotism The island was besieged by sea an
ed to th defended with great bravery.
were the ficult to repel or withstand the
the incense ny: and Chabrias endeavou
was most c arbour with his fleet; but h
Such qua e only one that penetrated th
lent, lic was immediately surrounde
in a w owever, have saved himself by
audi to the Athenian fleet, as many of h
sions did; but, through a sense of h

th's gallant commander would not forsake the vessel intrusted to him by the republic. He therefore preferred an honourable death to a disgraceful life; and was slain by the Chians, fighting bravely.

The confederates, encouraged by this first onset against an enemy that had affected to despise them, increased their fleet, and ravaged the isles of Lemnos and Samos. The Athenians, indignant at their conduct, and displeased that the territories of their faithful allies should fall a prey to the depredations of rebels, fitted out another squadron early the next year; and gave the command of it to Mnesthius, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law of Timotheus. They hoped that the new commander would respectfully listen to the advice of those great men, who were perhaps averse from acting any principal part in an expedition where Chares possessed a share of authority. The two Athenian armaments united in the Hellespont, whither Chares had sailed, after raising the siege of Chios. The fleet now amounted to one hundred and twenty sail; and, that they might constrain the enemy to abandon their designs against Lemnos and Samos, the Athenian commanders immediately directed their course towards Byzantium, to which city they purposed to lay siege. This expedient was successful: the allies from those islands collected their whole naval strength, and with all their force bore away for Byzantium.

The two fleets, now in sight of each other, prepared to engage: in the mean time, however, a sudden and violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for the Athenian armament

ment to bear up to the enemy, or even to continue at sea, without being exposed to the danger of shipwreck. Chares alone demanded that the fleet should sail, and engage the enemy. The other commanders, who had more prudence and experience, perceived the disadvantage, and declined the unequal danger. His impetuosity being overruled by the opinion of his colleagues, Chares became enraged and furious: he called the soldiers and sailors to witness their opposition, and that he was not culpable for the inactivity of the fleet. He therefore took the first opportunity of sending messengers to Athens, who accused his colleagues of incapacity, cowardice, and total want of duty; and this accusation was supported by venal orators in his pay.

Timotheus and Iphicrates were accordingly tried for their lives. Through the timidity of the magistrates, they were not condemned to death, as had been expected; but had a large pecuniary fine imposed on them, which no Athenian citizen could at that time pay. Those illustrious and unfortunate commanders were therefore compelled to go into banishment.

Timotheus went first to Chalcis in Eubœa, and then to the isle of Lemnos, both which places his valour and abilities had recovered for his ungrateful country. Iphicrates, having formerly married the daughter of Cotys a very considerable prince of Thessaly, travelled into that country, and there resided in obscurity. Both these illustrious characters died in banishment. The social war, therefore, destroyed or removed three of the best generals that Greece possessed; and, if we

we except the brave and honest Phocion, the last venerable remains of Athenian virtue.

By the removal of Iphicrates and Timotheus from the command, Chares found himself at liberty to act in any manner he should think proper, without the controul of superior councils. Had he been a person of abilities, and sufficiently virtuous to have withstood the corruption and bribery of Artabazus the wealthy satrap of Ionia, he might have advanced, in a very considerable degree, the interest and power of Athens in the Hellespont. But his insatiable avariee had rendered him obnoxious to many of the Athenians; and his want of capacity and care as a general made him become the contempt and ridicule of the allies. He neglected the discipline of his army almost totally: and never thought of reducing the rebels; but passed his time in the company of singers, dancers, and harlots, whose luxury and extravagance consumed the greatest part of the supplies raised for the exigency of the war.

Artabazus, having revolted from the allegiance of Artaxerxes Ochus, the most detestable tyrant that ever disgraced the throne of Persia, sought, by the promise of large sums of money, the assistance and protection of the Athenian chief. Chares, therefore, that he might satisfy the clamours of the soldiers, and without regarding the treaties subsisting between Persia and Athens, marched his army to co-operate with the troops of the Persian rebel; whom he effectually relieved, and received a reward suitable to his services. The Athenians, as soon as they received the intelligence that Chares had

obtai

obtained a signal victory over the troops of
taxerxes, gave great demonstrations of
and extolled the general as the greatest of
triots.

But a messenger soon after arriving from
Persian monarch, their false joy immedia
vanished. This ambassador complained lo
of the infraction of peace between the two c
tries; and threatened the Athenians that, if
did not instantly withdraw their troops from
the allies should be assisted by Artaxerxes
a fleet of three hundred sail. This just men
the want of successful operations against the
federates, and a still more important rea
which will remain to be explained herea
obliged the Athenians to recall their troops f

B.C. 356. Asia, and to conclude a treaty of p
with the allies, without having reali
one object for which the war had b
expressly undertaken. The confederates m
good their claims to liberty and independen
and continued for twenty years free from
oppressions of subsidies and contingents; u
they submitted, with the rest of Greece, to
intrigues and arms of Philip, and to the irr
tible power of the Macedonians.

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CHAP. XV.

Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the Conclusion of the Social War, until the Birth of Alexander.

IT has been already observed, in the former part of this history, that Caranus founded the kingdom of Macedonia. He was an Argive by birth, a descendant of Hercules; and, eluding the dangers that proved fatal to royalty in the several communities of Greece, conducted thither a colony of his warlike and enterprizing countrymen. Having conquered the barbarous natives, he settled in Edessa, at that time the capital of Emathia, since called Macedonia. The gods, it is said, had the protection of the kingdom of Macedonia: and, directed by the oracles, Caranus followed a herd of goats to his new capital of Edessa; which for that reason he called Ægæ, or the city of the goats. This fiction would be very unworthy of narration did it not explain the reason why goats were used as the ensigns of Macedonia, and why the coins of Philip and of his successors were struck with the figures of this animal. B. C. 795.

This small principality, which afterwards grew into so powerful a kingdom under the reign of Philip, and became under that of his son Alexander the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was bounded on the east by the Ægean sea, on the south by Thessaly and Epirus, on the west by the Adriatic or Ionian

Ionian sea, and on the north by the rive
mon and the Scardian mountains. The cir
rence of this territory did not at first
three miles.

Caranus, and the princes Cænus and
mas, who immediately succeeded hin
more frequent occasion to use their pruden
their valour. The Grecian colony might
infant state, have fallen an easy prey to
barous and warlike neighbours, by whom
every way surrounded; but its first kin
stead of attempting to repel or subdue b
of arms, endeavoured rather to gain and
by good offices the kindness of the inh
of Emathia, and of the neighbouring d
They are said to have communicated t
people the knowledge of the useful arts,
religion and government of the Greeks
that happy state of simplicity which pr
during the heroic ages; and while they
selves, in some degree, adopted the la
and manners of the barbarian natives, th
imparted to the latter a tincture of the la
and the civility of Greece. It is very pr
therefore, that this liberal and enlighte
licy, so unlike the conduct of the other
colonies and states, laid the foundation
greatness and power which Macedonia aft
acquired.

B. C. 691. Perdiccas, the first monarch name, was a person of great abilit of an enterprising spirit. He ex his dominion so much, and his fame eclipsed that of his predecessors, that I tus and Thucydides have reckoned him the er of the Macedonian monarchy. His have been greatly magnified by fable:

has hap[illegible] of the five succeeding kings. It is no[illegible]ive we at the reign of Alexander [illegible] who filled the Macedonian th[illegible] during the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, that we attain historical correctness. Alexander took an important and honourable part in [illegible]n invasion; but he did not neglect the [illegible]or Macedonia. He extended the b[illegible]s of that kingdom to the river Nessus on [illegible] and to the Axius on the west. B. C. 481.

Perdiccas the se[illegible], the son of Alexander, succeeded to the throne of his father. In the beginning of his re[illegible], he discovered such prudence and penetrat[illegible] that he seemed to inherit his father's abilitie[illegible]s he did not disprove in any succeeding [illegible] of his life; but, though he possessed the abilities, he had not the integrity of Alexander. During the Peloponnesian war, Perdiccas took an important part in the affairs of Greece; and, on account of his hatred to the Athenians, the ancient and constant enemies of his kingdom, allied himself with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth. The Spartan and Macedonian armies being united, proceeded to the attack of several towns in the Chalcidica. These cities were at that time allied with, or dependent on, the republic of Athens; and, by subverting the dominion of that state in the Chalcidican territory, he hoped to extend and secure the influence of Macedonia. In this, however, he was disappointed. Some differences arising between the Spartan general and the Macedonian monarch, the Olynthian confederacy was broken and destroyed; its members became subject to Sparta; and, when that state was reduced by

Amyntas was, however, no sooner re
blished on his throne than he found hims
war with the Olynthians; who had seize
refuse to surrender, several places in his
nion. The Macedonian king, therefore
to request the assistance of Sparta; and th
public procured him the restoration of the
tory that was unjustly detained. This ci
stance we have already had occasion to not

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his father in the kingdom. His reign
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by an invasion of the Illyrians. He le
brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, the el
whom was a minor. Pausanias claime
kingdom; and was on the point of obtair
when, at this critical juncture, Iphicrate
Athenian, arrived from Amphipolis, the
very of which city had formed the pr
cause of his expedition. In other journ
the coast of Thrace, the Athenian comm
had always been treated with respect by
tas, whose widow Eurydice now implor
assistance against the usurper Pausanias
Iphicrates, moved by her tears and intr
espoused her cause, and deposed Pausania

During the minority of the young prin
kingdom was governed by his natural b
Ptolemy, whose ambition refused to be s
with a delegated power. This usurper
have related above) was deposed by th
bans under the command of Pelopidas; an
diccas was reinstated in the kingdom. To
its dependence on Thebes, thirty youth
carried as hostages to that city; in the

of whom was Philip, afterwards the renowne king of Macedon.

Perdiccas seemed to glory in his humiliation The friendly interposition of the Athenians wa forgotten; and the protection of the Thebans, a that time in the zenith of their prosperity, only remembered. He therefore seized the opportunity of disputing the right of the Athenians to the city of Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece; and his opposition rendered fruitless their well-directed endeavours to recover that important establishment. But Bardyllis, the Illyrian, avenged the wrongs of Athens on the ungrateful Macedonian. Perdiccas refused to continue the tribute which had been paid to that chief during the reigns of Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis, therefore, prepared to exact his claim by force of arms. A general engagement ensued, in which the Macedonians were defeated, with the loss of four thousand men; and Perdiccas, being taken prisoner, died soon afterward of the wounds he received in the battle. His son Amyntas was in his infancy. At this time, Thebes had lost, by the death of Epaminondas, that superiority in Greece which, during the life of that illustrious Theban, she had acquired. Athens had great reason for being hostile; and Macedon, surrounded by foes on every side, already experienced the calamities inflicted by barbaric fury.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis entered and laid waste the western part of Macedon, the Pœonians, a warlike tribe, endeavoured to avenge the injuries received from Perdiccas. The Thracians still made attempts to replace

Macedonians, though conquered, were far being subdued. In the fortresses and pla strength, which were in every part of the dom, were very considerable garrisons. whole force of Macedonia had not, as ye gaged the enemy; and the Illyrians, inten upon plunder, having ravaged and laid [illegible] country without meeting any fo [illegible], returned home laden with [illegible]. They, however, meant to assaul cedonia with still greater numbers, and to plete their conquests and devastations: though distinguished for their strength and rage, they seem not to have acted in con and the desultery mode which they pursue inimical to their views and interests.

The inhabitants of Pœonia and Thrace less ignorant and untractable. In forme riods, the Pœonians were considered as rior in every respect to their Macedonian n bours: but the Grecian colony, that had pied the territory of the latter, had produ surprising change, and greatly meliorate condition of its inhabitants; while the fo on the contrary, remained stationary, and no advances from ignorance and barbar knowledge, and more refined modes of Very little more than half a century befor Macedonia indeed was scarcely superior t[illegible]

hostilities, banished agriculture, [illegible] every useful art. They had neither [illegible] towns in their territory, except a few [illegible] settlements on the coast.

Such was the condition of those whom Philip found his enemies, when he arose forward to claim and maintain the rights of his infant nephew. The Illyrians, actuated by treasure and unsteady councils, evacuated the territory, and returned into their own country. He sent ministers to the Paeonians, who, partly by bribes, and partly by promises, prevailed on that fierce people to retire from Macedonia: and by the same arts he persuaded the Thracian chief, who appeared on behalf of Pausanias, to relinquish his claim, and leave the kingdom.

In the mean time, the Athenians, who had espoused the cause of the banished Argeus, anchored with their fleet before the harbour of Methone. The army of Argeus was encamped on the plain; and the exile himself having united his forces with the Athenians, prepared to march to Edessa, the capital of the kingdom, where he expected to be joined by a very powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to his standard. The Macedonians, who had rested themselves in the camp of the late king Amyntas, had become dispirited [illegible] they had suffered from the Illyrians, and consequent events of that battle: [illegible] exhortations of Philip, together with the [illegible] deportment he exhibited, animated their minds, and roused them from their despair. They admired the address by which he had removed the Paeonians and Thracians out of the kingdom, and disarmed their resentment.

The

The insinuating manners and winning affability of Philip, together with the gracefulness of his person, procured him the affections of the people, and the superstition of the Macedonians was wrought upon to forward his purposes. Verses, said to have been composed many years before, were handed about, in which Philip was mentioned as the founder of the Macedonian greatness. These Sybilline oracles were considered as authentic and sacred by the credulous multitude; who believed that they foretold the great glory that should result to the nation by the reign of the son of Amyntas. Under these impressions, an assembly was convened at Egæ; and the people unanimously declared, "Philip is the man whom the gods have announced as the founder of the Macedonian greatness: the difficulty and turbulence of the times admit not of having an infant monarch; let us then obey the dictates of heaven, and of the present dangers, and make choice of a man to wield the sceptre, who is worthy to possess and able to defend it. This proposal was immediately acceded to; and Philip, who had hitherto exercised the delegated powers of regent only, was appointed by the suffrages of the people king of Macedon.

The affections of the Macedonians thus centering in Philip, no other means were left to Argæus, for attempting the recovery of the kingdom, than by force of arms. He therefore marched with the Athenean auxiliaries, and arrived at Edessa; but the inhabitants shut the gates, and refused to admit him into the city. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to obtain possession of any other of the Macedonian

Macedonian cities, but returned with his army to Methone. Philip, who was now enabled to take the field with his troops, pursued the retreating army; which he harassed extremely, and afterwards defeated with great slaughter in a general engagement. This action revived the spirits of the Macedonian forces, and taught them to confide in the abilities of their youthful monarch. The king, on this occasion, displayed that prudence and moderation which distinguished him from his contemporary chieftains. He allowed the remains of Argæus's army, whether Greeks or barbarians, to capitulate.

The proud and lofty spirit of Philip could not but be highly offended by the conduct of the Athenians and the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims which prevailed, in that age, gave him full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unfortunate captives. But he displayed that artful and deceiving policy which served at first to strengthen and secure him on the throne, and afterward enabled him to extend his dominions. He saw it to be his interest not to irritate the minds of the Athenians, but to sooth their passions; and to obtain by kindness the affections of those Macedonians whom he could not gain by force. The prisoners of the latter nation were commanded to attend him. Having remonstrated against their conduct in meek and gentle terms, for attacking the throne of a prince who had been elected sovereign by the almost unanimous voice of the nation, he admitted them to swear fidelity to his person and government; and then distributed them promiscuously in his army. But the Athenian prisoners were treated in a still more

traordi

traordinary and friendly manner. They ceived their baggage unexamined and unc ed; they were entertained at the table of P with condescending hospitality; and wer stored to their country without a ransom.

This conduct of the artful monarch had desired effect. The Athenian soldiers retu home applauding and admiring the behavio Philip, and persuaded that the young kin tertained great attachment and respect for republic. Scarcely had they time to blaze the praises and disinterestedness of the Ma nian monarch, when ambassadors arrived Philip at Athens; who renounced, in name, all jurisdiction over Amphipolis, an clared that, henceforth, it should be a fre independent city, and subject only to th vernment of its own laws. This measure te greatly to hasten a peace between the countries; for, though the Athenians de much advantage from their colonies and quests in Thrace and Macedon, yet the una able expences of maintaining armies in parts greatly discouraged them, and inc them to an accommodation, whenever it be done with honour. The terms propose Philip, together with his recent treatment Athenian prisoners, ensured the success embassy. A peace was concluded, on the of a treaty formerly made between the At ans and his father Amyntas. Thus was th pricious and unsteady people lulled into s ty, at a time when, having again obtaine sovereignty of Greece, their present powe ancient glory urged them to take an activ superior part against the designs of the Ma

monarch. An opinion that the power of
was feeble, and insecure, induced them to
e in a treaty insidious and dangerous; and
engaged in a war with their allies, which ter-
ed, as we have seen, in ruin and infamy.
r young king having by means of these
nations settled and tranquillized the state
kingdom, began to establish such institu-
as might extend his own power, and con-
the greatness of Macedon. The laws and
ns of the heroic ages, which, as we have
ed already, were introduced into that
ion at a very early period, greatly circum-
d the regal power. The principal persons
e state regarded themselves, not as the
ts, but as the rivals, or the equals, of
king. They followed, indeed, the stand-
their sovereign during war; but they fre-
ly shook the throne of the prince with se-
. The moment of success appeared most
for acquiring what seemed necessary in
overnment of the kingdom, and for extin-
ing that proud and dangerous spirit which
ten thwarted the measures of the sovereign.
ilip, therefore, proceeding with his usual
and intrigue, selected from the bravest of
Macedonian youth a body of companions,
he distinguished by honourable appella-

He constantly entertained them at his
; and they attended his person in the ex-
s of war and of the chase. The intimacy
ich they were admitted, with the sove-
, they regarded as a conspicuous proof
eir merit and abilities; and thus were
d to superior diligence in the occupation
uties of a military life. The young nobi-

lity, animated with the hope of glor
nown, vied with each other in obta
distinguished privilege: they served a
to Philip for the allegiance and loya
principal families in Macedonia; and t
ed that seminary for excellent gene
produced those commanders who, aft
assisted Philip and Alexander to c
length obtained for themselves, and di
spoils of the ancient world.

It has been asserted by some wr
Philip invented, in the first year of
the Macedonian phalanx: a body of
sand men, with short swords, proper f
or thrusting; with strong bucklers
long, and two and a half broad; and p
teen cubits in length. This body of tr
ever, did not differ in their form and
ment from the phalanx that had been l
use among the Greeks, and which P
adopted in its most perfect manner. N
any reason to suppose that Philip, wh
sible of the difficulty and danger of
what custom had so long established,
alteration in the weapons or tactics of
donians. He employed his time mor
and judiciously, by procuring arms, h
soldiers; by reviewing and discip
forces of his kingdom; and by inurir
that austerity and labour which alon
duce men capable of supporting the fa
military life.

Being thus prepared for taking
whenever an opportunity should pre
his ambition was not suffered to be l
ployed. The death of Agis, king of t

us, which happened about this time, was no ooner known by Philip than he determined to mbrace the occasion of revenging the insults nd injuries which those barbarians had inflicted n Macedon. Amongst a people who have ne- er been accustomed to obey the laws of peace r war, almost every thing depends on the un- ertain character of their leader: Agis being lead, and no chief appearing to check his pro- gress, Philip invaded their country, attacked their cities, and reduced them to such extremities hat they were under the necessity of submitting to the conqueror; and Pæonia became an abso- ute dependency on Macedonia.

It is very probable that Philip permitted, ac- cording to the practice of the age, a number of Pæonians to follow his standard. His invasion of Pæonia being so successfully terminated, he undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, he marched toward the frontiers of Illy- ria. Before, however, he entered the enemy's country, he made a speech to his soldiers, after the custom of the Greeks, whose example and manners he was always desirous of imitating. The indignation of past injuries, the honour of subjects, and the glory of his crown, were the topics which Philip selected and enforced for animating the valour and resentment of his troops. Nor could he have chosen more suit- able subjects; since the Macedonian soldiers were unable to comprehend the more refined and more secret motives of the artful monarch.

The Illyrian chief had extended his dominion

Amyntas was, however, no sooner re-e
blished on his throne than he found himsel
war with the Olynthians; who had seized,
refuse to surrender, several places in his d
nion. The Macedonian king, therefore,
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Pausanias on the throne of Macedon. Argæus, who had been driven from the usurpation, emboldened by the success of the Illyrians, renewed his pretensions. He prevailed on the Athenians, who still felt themselves hurt by the opposition they had experienced from Macedon relative to Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour. The Athenians therefore sent a fleet against that kingdom, on board of which were three thousand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias.

Such was the calamitous situation of public affairs in Macedonia, when Philip appeared. Undismayed by the evils which threatened the kingdom and the throne, he boldly asserted the right of his infant nephew, against the claims of two competitors, and the opposition of four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would never have formed a design so apparently desperate and impractible. Something more than courage, however, was requisite, to give success to the enterprise; and Philip displayed those wonderful resources in his twenty-third year, which appeared in every subsequent part of his life. His reign is the most interesting in the page of history to those who, surveying not the vulgar revolutions occasioned by force, are delighted with viewing the active energies of a great and comprehensive mind. He had remained in obscurity until the death of his brother; and it is now unknown where his residence had always been. He had lived, however, chiefly in Thebes, from the age of fifteen; and had lodged in the house of Epaminondas, whose lessons and example could not fail of exciting, in a kindred mind, the

B. C. 360.

ıe tactics of the Spartans were the first esta-
ment that he introduced into Macedonia.
it was not in the acquisition of knowledge
that the travels of Philip were useful to

As the brother of Perdiccas, the Mace-
ıu monarch, he was every where received
kindness, and found an easy access to those
e acquaintance he considered it his interest
ltivate. He visited Athens, at that time
le to his country and to his family: but even
he met with a favourable reception; and was
duced to the company of Plato, Aristotle,
socrates, whose friendship and esteem he
ired. To the connections which he formed
hens and other Grecian states, may proba-
e ascribed, in a great measure, the success
s future undertakings.

ıe appearance of Philip in Macedon gave a
ern to the complexion of affairs; but while
dmire his conduct and abilities, we ought

phipolis to the Athenians after he had conquered it, provided they would surrender to him Pydna, a place of much less importance. To these conditions the Athenian magistrates consented; the possession of Amphipolis appeared to them a great object, and they were elated with the hope of recovering this important place, and with the secret promises of the deceitful monarch. This business required such haste in the dispatch that the assembly of the people was never convened to deliberate upon it. The senate of five hundred disdainfully rejected the overtures of the Olynthians, who returned home disgusted and indignant at the reception given to their proposals.

They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the unsuccessful issue of their mission, and the indignation they felt on account of the behaviour of the Athenians, before ambassadors arrived at Olynthus from the Macedonian king. They pretended to condole with the Olynthians on the ill success of their overtures, and the affront they had received from the Athenians; but they affected surprise that the Olynthians should condescend to court the protection and alliance of a distant and proud republic, when Philip, who was so near and could speedily assist them in any emergency, wished for nothing more than to become their ally, and to be admitted a member of their confederacy.

In confirmation of his sincerity, the Macedonian monarch immediately put into their possession Anthemus, a town of considerable importance in their neighbourhood, but which had been always claimed by the kings of Macedon: and, that he might seem farther deserving of their gratitude.

gratitude, on ed th services of much more cons , in particular, that Pydna and Potidæa, which commanded the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph, and belonged to the Athenians, should be attacked by his troops, and if reduced become dependent cities of Olynthus.

These proposals of Philip, who was never more sincere than h nterest required, together with the influence of some of the principal persons in Olynthus, produced the desired effect; and the Amphipolit s, who were at no pains to suppress those offen and complaints which frequently and naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy, had the mortification to their cause abandoned by their allies. Thus nd the intriguing Macedonian not only prevent all resistance to his views from the Olynthians, but induce that people to become his sincere friend and ally. When nothing remained, therefore, to oppose his designs, Philip prepared for action. He marched an army with great celerity toward Amphipolis, and vigorously besieged that place. In their emergency the inhabitants dispatched Hierox and Stratocles to Athens, to represent to that republic the danger which threatened the Athenians, from an alliance between Philip and the Olynthians, and to intreat that the Athenians would forgive the errors of their unfortunate colony, and once more grant the wretched Amphipolitans the protection of their navy.

When they made their submission to the Athenian republic, that state was deeply engaged in the social war; and could therefore scarcely be supposed to give proper attention to the requests of the Amphipolitans, and to grant that speedy and

and powerful assistance which was necessary to protect their city against the designs of Philip. It is not, however, improbable that the Athenians would have used their endeavours for recovering so important and valuable a settlement, had not the policy of Philip defeated any intention of this nature. He sent them a letter, in which he renewed the assurances of his friendship, acknowledged the justice of their pretensions to the city, which he actually besieged, and artfully declared that, according to the engagement subsisting between them, he hoped in a short time to put it into their hands.

The Athenians, again amused and deceived by the representations of Philip, behaved with as little respect to the ambassadors of Amphipolis as they had formerly shown to those of Olynthus. The besieged being thus deprived of all hopes of relief, Philip pressed the attack with redoubled vigour: a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after defending themselves with great resolution, which tended only to increase the resentment of the assailants, were compelled at length to surrender their city at the discretion of the conqueror. The territory was reunited to Macedonia; and Philip, notwithstanding the promises he had made the Athenians, resolved that it should never come into their possession.

B. C. 358.

The possession of Amphipolis gave Philip an opportunity to pursue his conquest in the territories of Thrace; to which the present situation of Athens, deeply engaged in the events of the social war, could afford no obstacle. Without deigning, therefore, to notice the remonstrances of the Thracian king, he marched thirty miles

east

east of Amphipolis, and arrived at Crenide, a town situated at the foot of mount Pangæus, and distant ten miles from the sea. Here the principal object that attracted his attention, and on account of which he had entered the Thracian territories, was the gold mines in that neighbourhood. They had formerly belonged to the Thracians and Athenians, who extracted from them great quantities of that precious metal; but, after they became the possession of the Thracians, they had been totally neglected.

Philip, having expelled those barbarians from the neighbourhood of Crenide, now hoped to extract from the bowels of the earth a treasure sufficient for purchasing that unlimited empire which he so passionately desired. He descended into the mines, and observed the decaying labours of the ancient proprietors. He caused the water to be drained off; the canals which had been broken or choaked up to be re-opened; and the earth was again ransacked for those riches the use of which Philip perfectly knew. He then established a colony of Macedonians at Crenide; which, in honour of its royal master, afterward assumed the name of Philippi. The revenue arising to the king from these mines amounted to a thousand talents, or about two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum; and the coins struck by his order were also called Philippi.

Having effected the great purpose of his expedition into Thrace, the Macedonian monarch turned his arms towards Thessaly; which, since the murder of Alexander, had been governed by three tyrants, Tisiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, who were at once the brothers-in-law, the assassins,

assassins, and the successors of that unfortunate prince. The Thessalians, who had been greatly oppressed by the tyrants, united their arms with those of Philip; and the usurpers were totally defeated, and reduced to such extremities that they were afterward unable to injure either their subjects or their neighbours. The Thessalians were unsteady in their resolutions, and incapable of preserving for a length of time any impressions whatever. They promised, in the first emotions of their gratitude, that all the revenue which arose from their fairs, and towns of trade, as well as all the conveniences of their harbours and shipping, should belong to Philip. And this cession, extraordinary as it may appear, the Macedonian monarch had the address to render effectual and permanent.

During his stay in Thessaly, he contracted an alliance with Arybbas, king of Epirus, a small principality that joined on the Thessalian territory. While he lived at Thebes, Philip had frequently seen Olympias, the sister of Arybbas, whose mental and personal accomplishments had made a deep impression on his heart. In the isle of Samothrace, where the triennial festival of Ceres was kept, they had been both initiated at the same time in the mysteries of that goddess. The ambition of Philip, however, and the activity in which he spent the years immediately succeeding his accession to the throne, had probably banished the remembrance of Olympias from his mind, until his journey into Thessaly. At the first interview, however, he felt his passion revive; and, as the kings of Epirus were descendants of the renowned Achilles, the marriage seemed in every respect worthy of him.

Accordingly, Arybbas yielding his con-
e conducted the beautiful Olympias into
mia, and made her his queen.
voluptuousness into which Philip sunk,
s marriage with Olympias, encouraged
es of the neighbouring princes, whom
before reduced, or in some respect hum-
The Pæonians, Illyrians, and Thracians,
together and made preparations for at-
the Macedonian monarch. The design
certed with more caution than is often
served among barbarians; and this ge-
confederacy against the interests and
of Macedon might have proved fatal to
nd his kingdom, had he not been timely
d of the danger by some of his faithful
s and emissaries in those countries.
on as he was made acquainted with the
which were forming against him, he
d to take the field early in the ensuing
with the flower of the Macedonian
Parmenio, a general in whom he placed
eat confidence, was sent against the Illy-
whom he soon reduced to obedience. Phi-
self marched an army into Pæonia and
, where he was equally successful. While
returning from this expedition, a messen-
ved with the news of Parmenio's victory;
n after came another, informing him that
es had been victorious at the Olympic
and gained the prize in the chariot races.
s a victory that he esteemed preferable
other, as it gave him an undisputed right
name of a Grecian; and he ever after-
ad the figure of a chariot impressed on
ns. Almost at the same time came a

third messenger, who acquainted him that wife Olympias had brought forth a son at P

B. C. 356. Philip, alarmed at so signal a happi which the heathens generally consid as an omen of some dreadful catastro exclaimed, "Great Jupiter! in return fo many blessings, send me only a slight mi tune!"

CHAP. XVI.

Affairs of Greece and Macedonia, from the B of Alexander to the Conclusion of the Sa War.

SOON after the birth of his son Alexa Philip wrote a letter to Aristotle the p sopher; whose merit he had early discern Athens while he was a disciple of Plato. letter was conceived in the following te "Know that a son is born to us. We thanks to the Gods, not so much for their as that it is bestowed during the life of Arist We assure ourselves that you will form h prince worthy of his father, and of Mac nia." Aristotle commenced the instructi Alexander, when the young prince was thi years of age; and when he might be supp capable of receiving and understanding th sons of that great philosopher, to whom h unquestionably under the highest obligatio the cultivation of those talents which natur given him.

Philip had now been settled five years o

t

e of his ancestors. The ancient boundaries
s kingdom were greatly extended and
y secured; but he had much more aug-
ed his revenues. On the north, he had ac-
d the country of the Pæonians; which had
annexed to his dominions, and might no
r be considered as a rival, but as an obse-
s province of Macedon: and, by the terri-
obtained in Thrace and Illyria, the fron-
of his kingdom were extended on the east
sea of Thasos, and on the west to the lake
chnidus. The whole of Thessaly was now
s disposal. The city of Amphipolis pro-
him many commercial advantages; and
it was that he hoped to raise such a naval
as would completely give him the sove-
ty of the sea, while the victories of his
s would enable him to acquire the same do-
n by land. He had raised such a power-
nd numerous army, and had exercised his
s so much in military discipline, that his
would yield to none in bravery and skill,
ere greatly formidable to the rest of their
bours for their numbers, their courage, and
rience. He regulated his finances with
economy, and was careful not to exceed
esources. The mines of Philippi afforded
a great annual revenue; which, as it was
cted out of the earth, and not from his sub-
appeared better calculated to produce real
ntages to the interests of his kingdom. This
rce was alike useful to his designs, whether
rected his views to the conquest of foreign
nions or applied himself to the more solid
less splendid undertaking of erecting and

consolidating the internal grandeur of his
dom.

At this time an event occurred which ki
anew the flame of war, among some of the
cian states; and which in its final effects sup
Philip with a pretext of interfering in the
fairs, and thus of furthering the project
he had formed to make himself the mas
that country.

The council of the Amphictyons, who h
was before mentioned, lost their influenc
importance in the affairs of Greece, reco
their authority in consequence of the
that took place in the Grecian republics
which have been already described. Too
it happens that the acquisition and exerc
uncontrouled power corrupt the heart, an
duce those dangerous and destructive pa
which oppose the happiness of man. Th
fect was observable in the Amphictyons, i
diately after the renewal of their power.
pretended that many and great abuses had
introduced during the declension of their a
rity, which it was proper and necessary
medy. The sacred rights of religion, they
which it was their first duty to maintain
been materially and impiously violated b
state of Phocis; which had, in disregard
decision of the oracle and of a decree
amphictyonic council, ploughed lands that
sacred to Apollo, and therefore improper
used for agriculture.

These lands, however, were confined
narrow district which divides the river Ce
sus and mount Thurium, on the western fr

of Bœotia. The criminal conduct of the Phocians (if their useful labours be deserving of that epithet) was neither great nor unprecedented. The Locrians of Amphisso had long cultivated the plains of Crissæa. This territory was much more extensive, and had been consecrated to the God by far more awful and sacred services. The Amphictyons, however, regardless of this distinction, summoned the Phocians to appear before them, and answer to the crime of which they were accused. The charge being proved against them, they were condemned to pay a heavy fine, and the sacred lands were ordered to be once more laid waste.

It is generally believed that the Thebans, who were the neighbours and the enemies of the Phocians, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary measure; certain it is that their influence at that time predominated in the council. This supposition is rendered still more probable by the succeeding deliberations of the amphictyonic council. The next sentence of that assembly was directed against Sparta; to punish the injury of Phœbidas, who in time of peace had seized on the Theban citadel, and left in it a garrison of Lacedæmonian troops. But this breach of public faith was committed (as has been above noticed) several years before. However flagrant and dishonest the crime might appear, prudence required that it should have been buried in oblivion; but at the instigation of the Thebans, the amphictyonic council brought it again to light. The Lacedæmonians for this action were commanded to pay a fine of five hundred talents; and, if they did not pay the money in a certain time, that sum was to be

doubled; but if they wholly disregarded the Amphictyons, and refused to obey the decree, they were in that case to be considered as the public enemies of Greece.

The angry decree of the amphictyonic council, against the inhabitants of Phocis, excited deep regret in that state, which was very unable to levy such a sum as was exacted. The danger, therefore, that threatened them, they knew not how to avoid. It was true the decree of the Amphictyons was peremptory, nor was it to be supposed that they would recede from their pretensions. But then, on the other hand, that council had not wherewith to compel a submission to their commands. The force which they possessed would be very ineffectual for their purpose; provided the devoted objects of their vengeance remained firm and unalterable in their purpose, and refused either to lay waste the sacred lands or to pay the fine imposed on them.

These bold and daring measures were proposed and recommended by Philomelus, one of the principal citizens of Phocis; a person whose popular eloquence and valour gave him a very powerful ascendant in the affairs of that state. He was also possessed of hereditary wealth. He contemned and ridiculed the superstitious ideas of the nation; and, being a bold and ambitious man, expected that, amidst the tumult of action and danger, an opportunity would present itself of raising him to a higher rank and reputation in the commonwealth. The Phocians frequently met to deliberate on this important matter. The danger of refusing, and the injustice and even the impossibility of obey-

ing

ing, the decree of the amphictyonic council were frequently discussed.

In all these deliberations Philomelus assisted. He endeavoured to inflame the vanity and tempt the avarice of his countrymen. He proved to them that to the Phocians belonged the guardianship of the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and the immense treasures contained within its walls. By these arguments, together with his popular manner of speaking, Philomelus wrought upon the minds of the people; and a majority of the senate and the assembly assented to the truth of what he asserted. Thus far successful, he had the address to procure for himself the appointment of general of the army; being considered as the most proper person for undertaking this office, and for executing those measures which he had so strenuously recommended. The Phocians imbibed the spirit of enterprize; and the youth were desirous of enlisting themselves under his standard, that they might defend, against the united attacks of envy and injustice, the honour of their country, its safety and freedom. All the public money, and even the private fortune of Philomelus and of other citizens, were expended in making preparations for commencing hostilities; and in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers who abounded in every part of Greece, and were ready to afford their assistance to every employer.

The following year was consumed by Philomelus in providing the necessary arms, and in exercising his troops: he also undertook an embassy to the republic of Sparta, that he might induce the Lacedæmonians to concur in his views,

views, since they had also received a very signal insult and injury from the amphictyonic council, relative to the seizure of the Theban citadel by Phæbidas, as before mentioned. Not having discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons in the time required, their penalty was accordingly doubled, and they were now condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance and injustice of this imposition might have been considered sufficient to justify the Spartans in following the example of the Phocians, and in bidding defiance to the power and authority of the amphictyonic council.

But Archidamus, the Lacedæmonian king, who possessed the caution and address of the renowned Agesilaus, was unwilling that the Spartan commonwealth should take a principal share in the dangerous experiment which the Phocians were about to make against the decrees of a council generally revered, and which was considered by the several republics of Greece as the guardian appointed by the laws for defending the national religion and liberty. Yet, though under these circumstances he wished not that Sparta should take a leading part in the war, and place herself in the front of the battle, he nevertheless assured Philomelus that the interests of the Phocians and of Sparta were the same in the event of the contest, and that both himself and the Lacedæmonians approved the cause in which the former were engaged; adding that reasons of a private and temporary nature only hindered them from declaring openly in favour of the war, and that Philomelus might be assured secret supplies of men and money would

be granted them until the Spar- B. C.
hould boldly step forward and 356.
in the common cause of the two
lics.

proof of the intentions of Sparta, Archi-
put into the hands of the Phocians a con-
ble sum of money; and Philomelus, ani-
by the assurance he had received that his
lic should be assisted by the Spartans in
ar, returned home. He no sooner arrived
cis than he put into execution a most au-
s and unexpected measure. The temple
lphos, though it contained treasures of im-
value, was scarcely defended by any mi-
force; and the superstition of the people
enerally considered as its principal guard.
melus, having prepared his men for the en-
ze (for they could scarcely be prevailed on
mmit so profane and impious an action)
diately conducted them toward Delphos.
Thracidæ that inhabited the neighbouring
t were considered as the guardians of the
e. These people Philomelus engaged;
aving overcome the feeble resistance which
could afford, entered the sacred city with
lm intrepidity of a conqueror.

e Delphians, sensible that Philomelus was
ther void of religious sentiments, and of
espect which is due to the votaries of the
, prepared themselves in silent horror for
ding the complicated guilt of murder and
rilege, committed by him without remorse
y: but the countenance of Philomelus, and
nore his actions and declarations, assured
that his intentions were altogether adverse
eir fears, and that he designed nothing
which

which they expected. He had come, he said, to Delphos, with no hostile dispositions against the inhabitants, and with no sacrilegious views against the temple. The principal motive for his marching the troops thither was to emancipate both from the tyranny of the Amphictyons, whose arbitrary and oppressive proceedings were almost every where acknowledged and experienced. He had come to Delphos also for the purpose of asserting the ancient and unalienable right of the Phocians, relative to the patronage and protection of the Delphian shrine.

Philomelus then caused declarations of the same import to be diffused through the several republics of Greece. He tore away from the pillars the decrees of the Amphictyons against Phocis and Sparta; and then informed the inhabitants of this latter state that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the obnoxious commands of the Amphictyonic council. His emissaries contrived means to inflame the resentment of the Athenians against the republic of Thebes, their natural and implacable enemy; and Sparta and Athens came to a resolution to oppose the Amphictyons, and openly to support the measures of Philomelus.

Matters were now becoming serious. The Amphictyonic council met a second time, and a resolution was passed declaring war against the Phocians. Most of the Grecian cities engaged in the quarrel; and gave assistance to one or the other, according as their interest or inclination led them. The Thebans, who directed the measures of the Amphictyons, were the foremost to take the part of that august assembly; and, in conjunction with the Locrians, Thessalians, and other

other states of less consideration, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws. The operations, however, of these states were conducted with that languor and tardiness which are generally incident to confederacies.

On the contrary, the Phocian commander prepared to act with vigour. The republics in Peloponnesus, and his other allies, afforded him little or no assistance. The expedient which he used for paying his troops was by levying very heavy contributions on the Delphians; whom their situation had rendered extremely rich, by the devotion that was paid by all Greece at the shrine of Apollo. He then, notwithstanding the declarations formerly made, began to enrich himself with the treasures of the Gods; observing that he did not see how the riches of Apollo could be more properly or beneficially employed than in the defence of the deity himself.

Philomelus collected about ten thousand mercenary soldiers; men equally daring and profligate with himself, who sacrificed all scruples of religion and of conscience to the prospect of obtaining a rich spoil. He began fortifying the temple and city of Delphos, in which he placed a powerful garrison. He then marched with the remainder of his forces, in order to repel the incursions of the enemy. Several battles were fought, and success appeared doubtful on both sides. For two years Philomelus waged war with the Thebans and Locrians, and the issue of his engagements terminated variously: the Phocians, however, were generally victorious;

rious; but no decisive action took place between the contending parties.

As both armies were in expectation of receiving speedy and powerful reinforcements from the several republics engaged in the quarrel, they were naturally desirous of avoiding a general engagement; but an unforeseen accident rendered their precautions ineffectual. The Theban and Phocian troops, entangled in the woods and mountains of Phocis, were drawn to seek forage near the same place. The advanced guards of the army having met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, began to skirmish; which brought on a general battle. A bloody and obstinate engagement followed; in which the Phocians, pressed by superior numbers, were at length compelled to retreat. The situation of the country, in which were many pathless woods and abrupt rocks and precipices, greatly impeded their return to Delphos. Philomelus made great but ineffectual exertions to retrieve the fortune of the battle, and to rally his fugitive soldiers and lead them again to the charge; but he himself was at length obliged to retreat with his flying battalions, and was carried to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair.

The enemy bore down all before them, and continued to advance to the place whither Philomelus had been driven. It seemed impossible to avoid them, or to escape the vengeance of their resentment. Collecting, therefore, all his courage, he formed a sudden and terrible resolution: he threw himself with fury from the

top

f the precipice, and by this means avoided
orments of a guilty conscience, and the ven-
ce of his enemies. The Thebans and their
, who beheld the terrifying spectacle, con-
ed this as a manifest indication of the divine
h, and of the revenge which Apollo had ex-
ed for the sacrilegious conduct of Philome-
elative to his sacred temple. In the mean
, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of
Phocian general, collected the scattered fu-
es, and returned with the feeble remains of
vanquished army towards Delphos. The
ederate troops, animated with the success of
engagement, resolved to follow up their
ry, and to expel this impious and sacrile
band from that holy place; and they de-
ined to inflict on the enemies of Heaven the
punishment that Philomelus had suffered.
hilst these matters were transacting in the
t of Greece, different causes concurred to
er the Macedonian king from taking any
in the Phocian war; and Athens and Sparta,
h had promised their assistance against the
hictyons, were compelled to relinquish
hopes for the present, and to abandon
allies. Archidamus, who, notwithstand-
he institutions of Sparta, had obtained an
lute ascendency in that state, was induced
is interested policy less to support the arms
is distant confederates than to aim at the
very of the Lacedæmonian dominion in Pe-
nnesus, which had now been a long time
ted from its ancient masters. The Ath-
s being at this time in strict alliance w
ta, and the Thebans deeply engaged in
est with the Phocians, the opportunity s

ed favourable for this attempt. For several years successively, the Spartans waged war with the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The arms and intrigues of Archidamus, however, were unsuccessful. The inferior states and cities of Peloponnesus, roused by the sense of common danger and common interest, allied themselves together to repel the attempts of Sparta, and to retain their liberty; and, though Athens had entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, yet that republic was unwilling to desert the cause of her ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians, and to give them up to the power of Sparta.

Whilst the politics of Peloponnesus formed a system apart from the rest, the centre of the Grecian nation was agitated and shaken by the sacred war, and the Athenians and the Macedonian monarch employed themselves in the affairs of Thrace. After the death of Cotys, the king of that country, the Thracian dominions were divided between his three sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus. These princes, however, each dissatisfied with the partition of the country and with his own particular lot, commenced hostilities against one another; and, by means of this fraternal discord, Philip was enabled to carry off the prizes for which they so earnestly contended. He prevailed on Kersobleptes to cede part of the Thracian Chersonese to Athens, which sent a numerous fleet under the command of Chares to take possession of the territory thus made over to them. Sestos was the only city that resisted, which Chares stormed and took.

Philip

ip then turned his arms against Methone,
city of Thrace, which was unable to sup-
self by its own strength, but when in the
of his enemies failed not to disquiet him
obstruct his designs. He therefore be-
that place, obliged it to capitulate, and
it to the ground. In this siege the Mace-
king lost an eye; a misfortune which he
to have borne with great impatience, be-
the circumstances that attended it were
ourable to his judgment and humanity.
he mean time the Phocians had appointed
archus general of the army. His conduct,
he took the command, proved that he not
qualled his brother in courage and ambi-
ut that he far surpassed him in activity
terprize. No man was better acquainted
the value and power of gold in military
takings, and no man knew better how to
his purpose with it.
ring drawn from the Delphic treasury as
wealth as he thought proper, he coined
n amazing quantity of money as had ne-
efore been seen, and circulated it through
ation. By means of the riches thus ac-
l, he hired more mercenaries, and the
an army was thereby restored and aug-
d. Their allies too were thus rendered
willing to afford them assistance; and
their enemies were not sufficiently proof
st the temptations of money, which so fre-
ly assailed their fidelity. Onomarchus
oyed great sums in bribing and distracting
heban councils, and in diverting the course
ir arms. He prevailed on the neighbour-
tates to observe a strict neutrality, who

might otherwise have been induced to join their forces to those of the enemy; and the Thessalians, a race of people remarkable for their avarice and fraud, openly espoused the cause of the Phocians.

These multiplied advantages Onomarchus employed with vigour; and he hoped that the unjust and sacrilegious motives of his enterprise might be eclipsed by the sudden splendour of victory. With the intention, therefore, of striking some signal blow against the enemy, he collected his troops, and marched a numerous and well appointed army into the country of the Locrians and Dorians. He ravaged and laid waste the whole territory, stormed and took the town of Thronium, and levied great contributions on several of the cities. He then penetrated into Bœotia; and, having ravaged part of that country, made himself master of Orchomenus. It was not until he came before the walls of Cheronæa that he met with a repulse from the enemy; who had here assembled all their forces, that they might put a stop to the ravages and incursions of the Phocians. Onomarchus had considerably weakened his army by placing garrisons in the several towns which he had taken, and by sending a detachment of seven thousand men into Thessaly under the command of his brother Phayllus. Under these circumstances, he judged it most prudent to avoid another engagement with the enemy.

After the taking of Methone, Philip, who was incessantly endeavouring to weaken his enemies by conquest, or to gain friends by his services, marched into Thessaly. The intrigues of the Macedonian monarch had counteracted the gold

of

of Onomarchus; but Lycophron having been divested of his power by Philip, became the zealous partisan of the Phocians. He had again possessed himself of Pheræ; and Pegasæ, Magnesia, with several other places of less importance, had declared for him and for the Phocians. The Macedonian interest, however, prevailed in other parts; and the factions seemed to be equally divided.

The army of Philip commenced hostilities with great vigour. He attacked Phayllus, who was defeated and put to the rout. He then laid siege to Pegasæ; which he took, and drove the Phocians toward their own frontiers. Onomarchus, who had suffered a repulse from the Thebans, afraid of losing the interest he had lately acquired among the Thessalians, evacuated the territory of Bœotia, and marched with his whole army to encounter the forces of Philip. The army of the Macedonian was less numerous, but did not decline an engagement; in which, however, he was completely routed by the united force of Onomarchus and Lycophron. They afterwards ravaged and desolated the whole territory; while the Thebans were greatly alarmed at the depredations committed by these invaders.

In the mean time, though the army of Philip had suffered a defeat, his spirit remained still unsubdued. He perceived that the reduction of Thessaly was absolutely necessary for erecting that empire which he proposed. He therefore applied himself diligently to recruit his army; and, as soon as he thought himself sufficiently strengthened, he marched against Lycophron. The tyrant did not wait his approach; but, re-

tiring with his troops to a place of safety, sent again to request the assistance of the Phocians. Onomarchus, being resolved to expel the Macedonian monarch entirely out of Thessaly, marched an army of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse In the mean while Philip had prevailed on the Thessalians to use their utmost efforts in reinforcing his troops; and the whole number of his forces amounted to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. An engagement immediately followed, in which the Macedonian monarch obtained a decisive victory. The Thessalian horse chiefly decided the fate of the day: they were sensible that should Lycophron prove victorious, immediate destruction would await them; and therefore they fought with desperate resolution.

Three thousand Phocians, together with Onomarchus their general, were left dead in the field; and three thousand were taken prisoners. The slaughter would have been much greater, had not the Athenian fleet appeared off the shore where the battle was fought. Many of the Phocians threw away their armour, and swam to the vessels for protection. Philip caused the body of Onomarchus to be sought for among the slain; and, when found, he commanded it to be hung upon a gibbet as a peculiar mark of infamy. The other bodies of the slain were denied the rites of funeral, and thrown into the sea, on account of their sacrilegious conduct in violating the sacred temple at Delphos. The three thousand that were taken alive were either drowned or reduced to captivity; but the latter opinion is thought more probable.

It might have been expected that this decisive

sive blow would have proved fatal to the Phocians, and have terminated at once the sacred war; but though Philip had conquered them in Thessaly, he was afraid of pursuing them into their own country, on account of the jealousy of the Greeks, who he knew would be greatly alarmed if he attempted to pass the straits of Thermopylæ. He perceived, therefore, that the most proper and certain method, for attaining the end he had still in view, would be to perpetuate dissensions among the several Grecian communities. For this reason he began to foment divisions in Peloponnesus; and, though he had chastised the Phocians, he was unwilling to finish a war which, whilst it engrossed the attention of the Grecian states, served to conceal from them his own ambitious designs. The victory he had achieved over an odious and obnoxious enemy, raised his reputation in Greece and the neighbouring states to a high pitch. He garrisoned the cities of Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia; and thus secured to himself the dominion of Thessaly.

Phayllus, the brother and successor of the unfortunate Philomelus and Onomarchus, still carried on the unhappy contest. He perceived that his cause was now desperate, and therefore prepared to avail himself of the only resource that was left him. In order that he might increase the number of his followers, and procure an army fit for encountering the enemy, he sold all the valuable spoils which he found at the temple of Delphos. The money he thus procured, which was immense, allured to his standard many adventurers, and rendered his forces equal in every respect to those of his brothers.

The

The fugitive Thessalians, that had assembled under Lycophron, entered into his army; and he obtained also the assistance of two thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, and five thousand Athenian infantry, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements added new vigour to the unfortunate Phocians; and gave them reason to hope that when they took the field their enterprize would be successful, and their enemies be subdued.

B. C. 352.

In the mean time Philip became sensible, from the conduct of the Athenians, that his designs could no longer be concealed. That republic, indeed, which had become justly suspicious of him, had lately concluded an alliance with Olynthus; and this proved to him the alarm which his measures had excited in the neighbouring states. He was informed by emissaries, whom he employed for the purpose, that the Grecian communities were in actual commotion, on account of the assistance and support given by many powerful republics in abetting the sacrilege of the Phocians. The Macedonian monarch considered it his duty, or rather his interest, to take an active part in the measures that were carrying on; and to give assistance to his friends, and defend the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory and success.

The victory which he had gained over Onomarchus was still remembered with gratitude by his allies. Not only the Locrians, Dorians, and Thebans, who had engaged as principals in the war, but also the religious in every part of Greece, looked to him as their deliverer. Philip therefore resolved to march, at the head of a numerous

umerous army, toward the celebrated straits f Thermopylæ. The expectations, however, hich he had formed relative to the terror which is unexpected appearance in those parts would iffuse throughout Greece, he soon found to be alse. The Athenians penetrated the real deigns of Philip, which he endeavoured to conceal nder the veil of religion: they doubted not hat his intentions were to invade and conquer heir country; and they imagined to themselves he Macedonians, Thessalians, and Thebans, attacking with fury the Attic and Peloponnesian erritory. Impressed with these ideas, and the ertainty of invasion that awaited their country, hey were roused from that lethargy and supineness into which their councils had fallen. hey flew to arms, launched their fleet, and, ailing with their troops, took possession of Thermopylæ.

Never did Philip experience a greater disappointment than in finding himself thus anticiated, by a people whom he had so often deceived. He abandoned the Phocian war to the onduct of the Thebans, and marched back toward Macedon; while the Athenians, after aving a sufficient force to defend the straits, turned to their capital, and summoned an assembly of the people.

On this occasion it was that Demosthenes, the elebrated orator, made his first exertions against hilip. His sentiments and views were equally ifferent from those of many Athenians who ished well to their country, and from the inamous hirelings of Philip who endeavoured to vour the interests of Macedon. No man was tter acquainted with the corruption and degeneracy

neracy of the Athenian people, and no
deplored it more. From the lethargy, ho
into which they were sunk, he hoped
tempted to rouse them. This design,
and difficult as it certainly was, his elo
(which was the most powerful, glowin
sublime that ever man employed) someti
fected. Great and almost incredible w
pains which Demosthenes made use of,
might become an accomplished speaker
ancient glory of his country was ever pr
his view; and in the ardour of patriot
sometimes forgot the sober dictates of
He asserted the just prerogatives and p
ons of his country; and would much rath
seen Athens discomfited, at the head of
lies, than victorious under any foreign st
Such were the views, and such the chara
this eloquent and disinterested patriot. N
der then that he became a favourite of the
whose interests he was always ready to

Demosthenes had endeavoured, on a
occasion, to awaken the Athenians fr
lethargic and indolent habits; and it was
pally owing to his advice that they had
duced to send troops to occupy the s
Thermopylæ. He now maintained tha
had seized several communities by conq
others by alliances, merely by dint of
lance and intrepidity; and that if the
ans would only rouse from their lethar
apply themselves to their interest, the
soon recover the advantages which the
gence had lost. "When, therefore,"
Athenian orator, "will you, O my coun
exert your vigour, and stand forth in

the liberties of your country? No necessity rely can be greater than the present. Will ou ever be sauntering in the forum and places f resort, and enquiring after news? Nothing ertainly can be more new than that a Macedo- ian should conquer Athens and enslave Greece! Is Philip dead?' 'No,' it is replied, 'but is n great danger.' What do these rumours con- ern you? It matters not whether he be sick or lead, if you conduct your affairs in this man- ner; for, should Philip die to-day, you will raise p another Philip to-morrow." He then ex- horted them to send troops to protect Olynthus nd the Chersonese from the incursions of the Macedonian monarch; but it is probable that he small armament which Demosthenes requir- ed, for accomplishing this purpose, never sailed.

In the mean time Philip, finding his designs were discovered, employed means to lull the Athenians into security, and to foster the su- pineness of his enemies. For more than two years the Macedonian monarch was induced, by motives of sound policy, to confine himself with- in his dominions, that he might dissipate the cla- mours which his too great precipitation in seiz- ing the gates of Greece had occasioned. He spent his time at Pella in cultivating the arts of peace, and encouraging them with munificence. His inactivity deceived the Athenians; and they indulged themselves, without reserve, in their favourite amusements. They neglected to assist the Phocians, and even to prosecute in any manner the war with Philip, in which they might justly be considered as principals. The elo- quence of Demosthenes had no effect, and was unable to resist the popular torrent.

fifty horse, under the command of Charid
These troops, however, were far from
serviceable to the Olynthians: their cows
made them contemptible, and their licen
ness dangerous. Under these circumstance
people sent a third time to Athens, and re
ed that a body of Athenian citizens mig
sent to their relief; but, before the auxil
from Athens could arrive, Olynthus was
pelled to submit through the treachery o
B. C. 348. own citizens. Philip entered triu
antly, plundered and demolishe
whole city, and dragged the inhab
into captivity. Lasthenes, Euthycrates,
their associates, who were the means
mitting the enemy, shared even a worse
being abandoned to the rage of the soldier
slew them immediately.

By the conquest of Olynthus, Philip b
possessed of the whole region of Chalci
the northern coast of the Ægean sea. H
minions now were bounded on the north b
Thracian possessions of Kersobleptes; a
the south by the territory of Phocis, a pro
that actually comprehended the straits of
mopylæ. Besides the general motives of
rest that induced Philip to extend his domi
he saw the importance and advantage of p
ing himself of Thermopylæ and the Helles
the former was properly and emphatically
the gates of Greece, and the latter was the
of communication between that country a
Euxine, from whose shores the inhabita
the Grecian communities drew supplies of
He perceived therefore that it was his part
interest to engage as a principal in the Pl

which would naturally secure to him the
ion of those two important places, without
it would be impossible to accomplish
ad been the great and constant object of
gn.

Thebans, finding themselves unable to
ate the war which they had so long car-
, sent a deputation to Philip, to request
would march an army against the sacri-
Phocians, and reduce them to submis-
while, on the other hand, the confederates
nce with Phocis sought his friendship and
ion. But though the Macedonian mo-
was ready to favour the Thebans, whose
t in the present instance was inseparable
is own, he delayed to answer either party
ne time, but kept them both in depen-
He, however, treated the deputies of
three republics, Athens, Sparta, and
, with apparent frankness and cordiality,
their designs were so widely different.
ength he ventured to assure the Theban
adors in private, that his arms should be
ed in recovering for them the towns that
volted from their capital; and which had,
the invasion of Bœotia, readily submitted
Phocians. The inhabitants of Phocis, he
ad justly deserved the vengeance of Hea-
d were objects of the divine displeasure;
ish them, therefore, would be as honour-
nd meritorious an act as it would be
ad impious to protect them. In these de-
ons Philip was certainly sincere; because
ws of Thebes were so far conformable to
n.

there were other points in which the in-

terest of Macedon and of Thebes was widely different. To gain his purposes without offending his allies was what Philip chiefly aimed at. He therefore caressed and flattered the ambassadors, but in vain. Money was offered them with a profuse liberality; but even the address of the Macedonian king could not make these bribes acceptable. The Theban deputies refused with scorn the proferred wealth, and maintained to the end of their mission their integrity and firmness of conduct. Philon, in the name of his colleagues, told Philip that they were very well convinced of his friendship, independently of the presents which he offered them: and that it would be most proper to reserve his generosity for their country, since the favours conferred on Thebes would render that republic and its ministers grateful and obedient.

On the contrary, all the Athenian ambassadors, except Demosthenes, received the bribes of the Macedonian monarch: and were easily persuaded that Philip was inclined in favour of their republic, and that he sincerely pitied the unfortunate condition of the Phocians; that he detested the insolence of the Thebans; and that if he marched his army to the straits of Thermopylæ his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present, indeed, he observed, certain reasons induced him to cultivate the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their ambition; but he was determined to defer no longer the ratification of a peace with Athens. He only wished that, in order to save appearances, the Phocions might not be mentioned in the treaty. The Athenians thus brought this arduous work to a conclusion, and

th

he ambassadors, upon their return home, informed their fellow-citizens that Philip in a few days would pass the straits of Thermopylæ; not with an intent to punish the Phocians, but the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war.

In the mean time the Phocians being led to consider the negociations of the Athenians with Philip as productive of great advantage to themselves, received the Macedonian monarch as their deliverer. Philip had passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and the Athenians expected that he would turn his arms against Thebes. He soon, however, undeceived them; and commanded his troops to wear crowns of laurel, thereby declaring themselves engaged in the service of Apollo, and the avengers of the sacrilegious violation of his temple. The Phocians, terrified at the appearance of the powerful army of Philip, dismissed all thoughts of defence, though Archidamus, the Spartan king, had marched some Lacedæmonian troops to their assistance. They therefore submitted themselves to his mercy, without any opposition. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, was permitted to retire into Peloponnesus; and as the judgment to be passed upon the Phocians was a matter which concerned all Greece, it was referred to the Amphictyonic council. By their decree the walls of three Phocian cities were demolished; the people were commanded to retain no fortified places, and to inhabit the villages only; and were enjoined the payment of a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and to make use of neither horses nor arms until they had repaid into the B. C. 346.

treasury at Delphos the money which they sacrilegiously taken from thence. They also rejected from being members of the phictyonic council, and the Macedonians elected in their room.

Philip proceeded to execute the decree o Amphictyons with inflexible cruelty ; and silence with which all this was done se more dreadful than the tumultuary ravag the fiercest war. After their cities and h were destroyed, the inhabitants were drive herds of cattle to the settlements allotted t and compelled to cultivate the fields for th nefit of their stern and unrelenting masters the distance of three years, Phocis presen piteous sight of unexampled devastation. youth and men of mature age had perish the war, or been dragged into captivity ; once flourishing and populous cities were to the ground ; and the villages were thinly habited by women, children and wretched men, whose silent but emphatic sorrow exc ed all complaints which they could have utt and fully bespoke the misery of their condi

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Co sion of the Phocian War to the death of Ph

NO sooner did the intelligence of these lancholy events reach Athens than a neral consternation seized the citizens. T dep

ıties had not been summoned to the council
:h decided the fate of Phocis. The people
ubled to examine the state of their harbours
shipping: and immediately passed a decree
the Athenians who generally resided in the
ıtry should be summoned to the defence of
city; that all within the distance of twelve
s should transport their persons and most
able effects into Athens or Piræus; and
e, whose situations were farther distant,
ld convey themselves and their property
the nearest fortresses, and places of greatest
ıgth in the Attic territory. They seemed
ned to call in question the election of Philip
the council of the Amphictyons, and every
g indicated approaching hostilities.
emosthenes, however, prevented matters
coming to an open rupture. He told them
, though he was not inclined to the pacific
sures which had been concluded, he was
:rtheless friendly to the observance of the
ty. That at present the contest would be
r unequal; for they would have to contend
only with the Macedonian monarch, but
ı several states of Greece, that were now
ome confederates with him. These remon-
ıces had their proper effect; and they saw
impossibility of attempting now what, not
before, they might easily have effected.
ı the mean time Philip, having terminated
sacred war in a manner so favourable to his
ıes and ambition, had his statue erected in
temple of Delphos; and, by a solemn decree
he Amphictyonic council, the kingdom of
:edon was appointed the principal member
hat body. Games and festivals were also
performed,

performed, at which Philip presided; but, though most of the Grecian states sent their representatives, the Athenians, indignant at the conduct of the Macedonian monarch, abstained wholly from the festival.

By his intrigues, Philip gained more advantages over his enemies than a long series of victories could have procured him. The conquest of Greece was at present the object of his attention, though he had long meditated the invasion of Asia. He was, however, unwilling to attempt new conquests, until he had completely established those he had already acquired. But, instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of the Grecian nation, whom he was ambitious to subdue, he wholly disarmed their hostility, and threatened with the combined force of all the other states the only republic that durst oppose his measures. He therefore considered it as the most proper mode of conduct to abstain from all farther hostilities at present, to withdraw his army from the territories of Greece, and not to attempt effecting by a premature force what a seasonable policy might safely accomplish.

Philip marched his army into Illyria; the inhabitants of which country had, during the operations in Greece, harassed the frontiers of Macedonia, and threatened a formidable invasion of that kingdom. He no sooner returned from this expedition, in which he was as usual victorious, and extended the boundaries of his kingdom in that part, than he made an incursion into Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that country. He took upon himself the whole management of the revenue; and divided the territory into four governments, that he might thereby

thereby weaken the force of opposition, and render the whole province completely dependent on Macedon.

The fame of Philip's achievements disposed his subjects to hope for every thing from his conduct, and all the neighbouring states to solicit his friendship. The prudent monarch, therefore, always intent upon extending and establishing his conquests, marched an army into Thrace. By his victories in those parts, he greatly incommoded the Athenians. Diopithes, who had the government of the Athenian colonies in Thrace, perceiving the designs of Philip, did not wait for instructions from his country before he resolved to oppose them. Having, therefore, raised a sufficient body of troops, he took advantage of the king's absence, invaded the adjacent territories of the Macedonian monarch, and wasted them with fire and sword.

Philip, whom the operations in the Chersonese detained, could not repel Diopithes by force: he therefore wrote to the Athenians, and complained of the conduct of their officers, who, in a time of peace, had entered his territories, ravaged the country, and committed such depredations as could scarcely have been justified by mutual hostilities. The creatures of Philip at Athens supported, with all their eloquence, the charges urged against Diopithes. They insisted that, unless he should be recalled from his government, for this infringement of the peace, the Athenians could not hope to preserve the friendship of Philip, or that of any other state. Diopithes was also impeached of extortion and piracy, and of levying contributions upon the friends and allies of Athens.

Demosthenes

a body of forces as proved sufficient, with assistance of his adherents in the island, t pel the Athenians.

The recent prevalence of the Macedo had been marked with numerous acts of vio and oppression. Many of the cities prepa rebel; and for that purpose dispatched en ries to the several communities of Greece, citing assistance from those states which had reason to deem favourable to their v The Athenians, chiefly by the influence of mosthenes, sent a considerable body of tr under the command of the brave and vir Phocion.

This man had already acquired great re tion as a general, and still more as an o He had studied in the academy under Plato his manners were formed upon the mod the most rigid virtue. His outward appea was forbidding; but his conversation was a able and entertaining. Every word and a expressed the utmost affection and benevol He applied himself to the study of eloqu and was very successful. His reasoning w powerful that even the energy and dignit Demosthenes were obliged to yield to it.

Phocion perceived that the indolence an steadiness of the Athenians rendered them in ble of contending with the unceasing activi Philip and it was from this conviction th continually exhorted his countrymen to gai cultivate the friendship of a prince against v they could not make war with any prosp success. The command, however, which offered him, he always considered it his to accept, even though he disapproved th

ped

dition. Forty-five times was he chosen to
id the armies of the republic, though he never
ce requested or made interest for the office,
d was generally appointed during his absence
om Athens; and it was matter of no small
onishment that, notwithstanding the severity
his morals, and his opposition to the will and
price of the people, the Athenians should be
partial to him: but the opinion they had
rmed of his probity and merit induced them
seek his assistance in times of public danger,
r their own sake, and not for his.

Phocion accordingly sailed with the armament
Eubœa. Demosthenes, the orator, accompa-
ied him; and, addressing the popular assemblies
almost every city of the island, inflamed the
habitants with such animosity against Philip
at little remained for the general to achieve.
he Eubœans every where took arms, attacked
e Macedonian garrisons, and compelled them
irely to evacuate the island. For this action
emosthenes was honoured by his countrymen
th a golden crown.

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to
ilip by the military operations which he was
en carrying on against Perinthus. Having
oured the plain with his cavalry, he exhausted
the siege of that place all the military skill
own to the ancients. He raised towers forty
bits high, undermined the fortifications, and
ade use of the battering rams in effecting a
each in the walls; but, notwithstanding all his
deavours, the inhabitants of Byzantium con-
ived means to throw succours into the place.
hilip, therefore, formed the resolution of be-
eging that city also; and his perseverance

would probably have surmounted ever
cle, had not Phocion arrived to the assi
the besieged.

Phocion was received by the Byzant
open arms. They expected that, und
commander, their auxiliaries would l
dest and inoffensive in their quarters
would be active and intrepid in the fie
were they disappointed in their exp
The arms of Philip were foiled in e
counter; his artifices were met and e
similar address; nor could he expect
any advantage over an opponent equa
and prudent. The Macedonian monarc
fore, whose flexibility in varying his
was equal to his firmness in adhering t
poses, raised the siege of Byzantium,
cuated the northern shore of the P

B. C. 339. Phocion retook such places as v
risoned by the Macedonians,
many ships, and ravaged with
sword the hereditary dominions of

Great and solemn honours were de
Athens on account of these meritor
vices; and Phocion who executed,
mosthenes who advised the measure,
quence of which so much glory was
received the grateful applause of their
Many years after this, the orator boa
the Athenians could not name any ot
sellor, and any other statesman, by wh
the republic had been so much honou

Philip now marched his army again
a Scythian prince, from whom he had
some personal cause of discontent. I
defeated the Scythians in a general en

obtained from them much booty. This, ever, did not consist in gold or silver, the and value of which that people were not as so unhappy as to know; but of arms, cha- s, twenty thousand captives, and a greater nber of mares intended to replenish the studs Pella.

While Philip marched southward, at the head an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, ery unexpected event happened, which had rly blasted all his laurels, and terminated at e his glory and his life. The Triballi, al- ed by the hope of sharing the plunder of the thians, laid ambushes for the Macedonians, l vigorously assaulted them, entangled as y were amidst the intricate windings of the ntains of Masia. Philip encouraged by his ce and example his astonished and dis- rtened troops; and fought with unexampled very, until a weapon pierced his horse, and l himself senseless on the ground. Alexan- , who fought near him, saved the life of his her by covering him with his shield, and de- ding him by his sword; and the Triballi re finally routed.

After this unforeseen delay, Philip marched haste through Thrace; and, as he had reason expect, was met by deputies from the Am- ictyonic council, by whom he was appointed neral of their forces, and requested to pro- ed towards Greece with all convenient speed. e secret practices and intrigues, which had en ripening during the Scythian expedition, oduced this extraordinary message; which o, as they formed the source of a tragedy

ed to attack Attica, through the The
Thessalian territories, the inhabitants
states, who were ever selfish and ca
would be ready to join his enemies on
appearance of his failure: his late
nate expedition, against the cities of the
tis, rendered such an attempt extrem
vourable; and as the Athenian far exce
Macedonian fleet there was n prospe
tacking successfully the enemy by sea.

In this emergency, he was applied
exile named Antiphon; who, having s
ously usurped the rights and honours o
of Athens, had been driven from the
ignominy. Stung with disappointment
he offered to execute any enterprise,
bloody or desperate. It was therefor
that Antiphon should return in dis
Athens, insinuate himself into the Pir
lie there concealed, until he found me

l with the ardour of preparation; and asses of tar, timber, and other materials for the fleet, and for the purpose of the , were daily accumulated. The vigi- however, of Demosthenes discovered the ate design; and Antiphon was dragged is concealment, and forced by the torture luctant confession of his intentions.

other scheme of Philip unhappily succeed- l in its consequences destroyed the liberties ece. He procured Æschines, one of his res, to be sent as deputy from Athens to nphictyonic council. By the time that l taken his seat in this assembly, a question whether the Locrians of Amphissa had en guilty of sacrilege and impiety, in g the fields of Cirrha, situated in the ourhood of the temple at Delphos. The ents of the deputies differing on this sub- Eschines, in the ardour of patriotic in- ion, which he knew how to assume, ha- d the council in a speech as energetic as thenes himself ever uttered. He read to embly the decree of Apollo, which con- d the harbour and lands of Cirrha to per- desolation.

warmth of Æschines occasioned a tumult council; at length, however, it was re- that the houses and plantations on the an plain should be destroyed. The per- ppointed by the Amphictyons to perform ious devastation met with no opposition; a their return toward the temple, they were ken and attacked by a numerous party of isseans, who took many prisoners, and d the rest to Delphos. The signal of war

was now raised; and Æschines, that he might finish what he had so well begun, procured the council of the Amphictyons to nominate Philip general of the army to be employed against the impious Amphisseans.

Though the Macedonians alone seemed far more numerous than was necessary to reduce the Amphisseans, Philip dispatched circular letters throughout most parts of Greece, requiring the assistance of their combined arms to revenge the cause of the Amphictyons and of Apollo. The Thebans, more intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood than inclined to the Macedonians, sent a small body of forces to join the troops of Philip. But the Lacedæmonians, who had long beheld the measures of Greece with disgust, and envied the power of Macedonia, which they were unable to oppose, determined to adhere to a strict and sullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the powerful eloquence of Demosthenes to a just sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries; and despised the threats of the oracle against those who took part with the Amphisseans. Demosthenes asserted that, on this occasion, the Pythian priestess and her ministers were bribed to *Philippise*, or to prophesy as best suited the interests of Philip; while, on the other hand, Æschines accused his adversary of receiving sums of money, and an annual pension, to abet the impiety of Amphissa. Philip waited for no other reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans; but immediately besieged, took, and garrisoned the unfortunate city. He also attacked the Athenian mercenaries, put them to flight, and spread

th

he terror of his arms over all the neighbouring country.

When intelligence of these events was received at Athens it occasioned great consternation. The citizens, who before could not tear themselves from their pleasures that they might defend Amphissa, now considered the moment as approaching, in which it would be necessary to defend their own walls against the victorious invader. An embassy was almost immediately sent to Philip, craving a suspension of hostilities; at the same time, also, their ablest orators were dispatched to rouse the animation of the Greeks, and to unite them against a barbarian, who, under the pretence of avenging the injuries of Apollo and of the Grecian states, meditated nothing less than the complete subjugation of their common country. Many of the communities of Greece received the ambassadors favourably; but Thebes fluctuated between uncertain councils, and equally hated the rivalship of Athens and the tyranny of Philip. It was necessary that the Macedonian monarch should march through the Theban territory before he could invade Attica. The decision, therefore, of that people was, at the present moment, of peculiar importance.

That he might fix their wavering irresolution, and awaken their sensibility, Philip seized upon Elatæa, a city in the Theban territory of considerable importance. It was late in the evening when the Athenians were made acquainted with this action of the Macedonian monarch; and the tumult which the news occasioned in the city may be more easily conceived than described. Before dawn, however, the confusion ceased; the

the citizens assembled, the senators too places, and the president formally repor alarming intelligence that Philip had upon the city of Elatæa, distant only tw march from Attica: a herald then, accor custom, proclaimed "That whoever h thing to offer on the present emergency ascend the rostrum, and propose his a The invitation, though frequently repeat received with silence and dismay. The trates, the generals, and the orators, v present; but none obeyed the summons, Demosthenes calls the voice of their coun ploring their assistance.

At length, however, that accomplishe arose, undaunted and unmoved amid thi of horror. By his speech, he obtained blest triumph of patriotism; and propo vice equally prudent, generous, and suc He told the Athenians that had not the T been hostile to the designs of Philip he have seized some city, not on the Theb the Athenian territory. He exhorted t shake off that unmanly terror which h prised them, and to fear rather for their bours, whose territories were more imme threatened; and then continued, "Le forces march without delay to Eleusi prove to the Thebans and to all Greece those who have betrayed their country a ported by Philip, so you are ready to with your hereditary courage and fortu that will fight for the liberty of Greece an embassy at the same time be sent to to remind its citizens of the many favou ferred upon them by your ancestors; to

hat you consider them as friends, and to in-
hem that the Athenians have forgot all re-
ostilities with Greece, and will never for-
ıe cause of their common country, which
resent, in a peculiar manner, the cause of
s. Offer them, therefore, your services
present juncture; and require nothing for
ver you can now render them: assure
that you are sensible of the dangers to
they are exposed, and ready to defend
to the utmost of your power."

se proposals of Demosthenes were receiv-
h universal applause; and the orator drew
ormal decree for carrying them into exe-
, which may be considered as the expiring
of a people who had determined that,
every thing mortal perished, the fame of
s should still survive. Demosthenes was
tly chosen to head the embassy which he
strongly recommended. The same un-
ed spirit that dictated the decree accom-
l the Athenian orator to Thebes; and he
hed over the intrigues of Amyntas and
hus, and the eloquence of Python, who
the emissaries and creatures of Philip.
itizens of Thebes passed a decree that
offered assistance of Athens should be re-
l with gratitude; and the Athenian army,
g soon after taken the field, was admitted
ı the Theban walls, and treated with the
ıst kindness.

he mean time, Philip having advanced to-
the Bœotian frontier, the confederates at-
l his advanced parties, and routed them in
ncounters. Regardless of these losses, he
ıed his army, consisting of thirty-two thou-
sand

sand men, to the plain of Cheronæa. This pl
was considered by Philip as admirably suite
the operations of the Macedonian phalanx.
ground for his encampment, and afterward
field of battle, were chosen with equal sk
Near the place, and within view, was a stu
of Hercules, who was the founder of his ra
some oracle had also announced that this sho
be the scene of desolation and woe to Greece

On the other hand, the Athenians had
their city, inattentive to any other omen th
the cause of their country. The combined ar
amounted to thirty thousand men, animated
the noblest design, the emancipation of th
country from the yoke of tyranny. Their
nerals, however, whose names were Cha
Lysicles, and Theagenes, were men very u
for their station; all creatures of cabal, took
faction, and slaves of interest or voluptuousn
As they were appointed to command the co
states whose shame, rather than virtue,
posed the public enemy, it is sufficiently e
dent that Greece was ripe for destruction.

The day now approached for abolishing
tottering independence of those republics, wh
internal vices and the arms and intrigues of P
lip had for twenty-two years been gradua
undermining. Before the sun was risen, bo
armies were in battle array: Philip headed t
right wing of his forces, which was opposed
the fury of the Athenians; and his son Alexa
der, then only nineteen years of age, surroun
ed by experienced officers, commanded the l
wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the Th
bans. The auxiliaries of each army were plac
in the centre. The Athenians, at the beginni

of the action, charged the enemy with great impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions; but the youthful ardour of Alexander bore down all before him, and compelled the Thebans to retire, after the Sacred Band had been cut off to a man. The activity of the young prince soon put the enemy to the rout, and he pursued the scattered multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

In the mean time the Athenian generals, too much elated by their success, neglected to improve it. They had repelled the centre and one wing of the Macedonians; and nothing now remained but the phalanx, commanded by Philip in person. Instead, however, of attempting to break this formidable body, the insolent and inexperienced Lysicles cried out, "Pursue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip perceived their error, and said, "The enemy know not how to conquer." The phalanx then attacked the Athenian troops, whose confidence of success had rendered them insensible of danger. The irresistible shock of the Macedonian column converted their fury into despair. More than a thousand fell; two thousand were taken prisoners; and the rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Here it was that the great orator and statesman whose eloquence and patriotism had roused the courage of his countrymen, betrayed that weakness which tarnished the glory of his character. Of all the Athenians, he alone advanced to the charge cold and dismayed; but as soon as the Macedonians repelled their adversaries, in an agony of grief and despair he turned his back, cast away his shield, and fled with the foremost. Few of the confederates perished; but more of the

the Thebans were killed than taken pr
Philip, perceiving his victory complet
manded (with a clemency unusual in tl
that the vanquished should be spared
was an action not less honourable to h
than to his heart; and his humanity subc
minds and gained the affections of his c
ed enemies, whose glory was now sunl
no more. B. C. 338.

After the first transports of his jo
over, the Macedonian monarch dis
his son Alexander, and Antipater th
confidential of his ministers, to offe
to the Athenians, on terms more fa
than they had reason to expect: but tl
bans deeply experienced the indign
the conqueror. Philip considered hi
entitled to treat that people, not as open
nerous enemies, whose attempts to ret
freedom deserved his clemency, but as
and insidious rebels, on account of their
deserted his alliance. He punished the
lican party in Thebes with unrelenting
restored the traitors, whom they had b
to the first honours of the republic, an
der to establish and secure their gove
he placed a garrison of Macedonians in t
ban citadel.

As soon as it was known at Athens th
countrymen had been completely discor
Chæronæa, the whole city was filled
mult and confusion; but, when the
ceased, the people seemed universally
to place the whole of their confidence
and none in the mercy of Philip. Hy
the orator, proposed, that their wives,

l valuable effects, should be sent to
This was decreed; and the rights and
of the city were bestowed on strangers
s, provided they would exert them-
repelling the enemy. Demosthenes
ined a decree that the walls and forti-
of the city should be repaired; a work
e orator, being appointed to superintend,
ly accomplished at the expence of
te fortune. The wisest persons of the
ty, however, saw the prudence of ac-
the peace offered by Philip; accord-
nbassadors were sent to treat with that
, upon the terms he himself proposed.
sthenes was appointed to pronounce the
oration in honour of those who had
Chæronæa. But the complexion of
s admitted not those daring flights to
e had been used to soar; and the genius
ator seems to have fallen with the for-
his country.

, having thus completely effected the
of Greece, immediately turned his
toward his Asiatic expedition; and, in
nice of his being president of the Am-
ic council, and the illustrious victory he
ed at Chæronæa over the only commu-
at opposed his greatness, he was consi-
the most fit person for conducting the
orce of Greece and of Macedon. This
office which he might have assumed
blame, but which he condescended to
om the impartial suffrages of the people.
r consent he was appointed general of
federacy; and the Grecian troops, ex-

T clusi

clusive of the Macedonians, amounted
hundred and twenty thousand foot, and
hundred horse. So great a force, the
sions prevalent among the Greeks had l
prevented them from supposing that thei
try could furnish.

In the midst of these designs, domes
cord shook the palace of Philip. It mi
difficult to account for a misunderstandi
took place between Philip and Olympias;
occasioned him to divorce his wife, and t
Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus. Ale
defended the rights of Olympias and of l
with the impetuosity natural to his cha
At the nuptial feast, an open rupture br
between the imperious father and his m
perious son. Attalus told Philip, in the
of the young prince, that the Mace
hoped he would now give them a lawful
the throne. Alexander no sooner hear
words than, in the heat of his resentm
cried out "Wretch, do you then say th
a bastard?" and instantly threw his g
Attalus, who returned the outrage with in
violence. Clamour and confusion aros
the king, provoked at this disturbance, i
ately drew his sword, and, forgetting
was lame, made towards his son. His
tation, and the quantity of wine in which
by this time indulged, contributed to dis
his rashness; and he stumbled and fell
floor. The courtiers interposed; and
der, now forgetting that the person w
addressed was his father and his princ
"Behold, ye Macedonians! this is th

s preparing to lead you into Asia. See
, in passing from one table to another, he
len to the ground."
dexterity of Philip, however, extricated
om the difficulties in which he was involv-
He contrived to soften Alexander, by as-
him that his illustrious merit, which was
known and admired in Greece and Mace-
ad not escaped the anxious vigilance of a
, who, though he had given him many ri-
the throne, thereby gave him an opportu-
f surpassing them all in glory, and in the
d affection of the Macedonians. These
scensions soothed the young prince; and
pias and Alexander again made their ap-
nce at court, from which they had of late
ed themselves. That he might announce
tablish his happy reconciliation with his
, Philip gave his daughter Cleopatra in
ge to Alexander, king of Epirus, the bro-
f his former queen, Olympias. Their nup-
were solemnized with great magnificence;
during these ceremonies, the Greeks and
lonians vied with each other in their obse-
s respect towards their common general
aster.

the midst of the tumultuous proceedings
s festivity, Philip, relying on the fidelity
ttachment of his subjects, frequently ap-
d in public without guards; but, while he
oing one day from the palace to the
e, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausa-
a Macedonian. It is uncertain whether
ssassin was stimulated to commit this atro-
act by private resentment, or whether he
rompted by the ill-appeased rage of Olym-

pias, or instigated thereto by the Persian satraps, on account of the intended expedition against Asia. Alexander, however, inclined, or pretended to incline, to this last opinion; and therefore alleged the assassination of his father as a reason why he invaded the Persian empire.

B. C. 336. Thus fell Philip, king of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was the first prince whose life and actions the page of history hath described with such regular accuracy and detail, that his administration is rendered a subject of instruction and amusement to all succeeding ages. If we consider his character, we shall find that he possessed foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself: and that he united the several prominent features that distinguish the Grecian nation; valour, eloquence, address, flexibility in varying his measures without changing his purpose, and the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance. If he had not been interrupted in the middle of his career, it seems more than probable that he would have subdued the Persian empire. The exploits he had already performed justify this opinion; since the invasion of Asia was a more dazzling but less difficult enterprize than the subjugation of Greece.

The news of Philip's death excited universal joy throughout Greece, and particularly in Athens. In that city the people decorated themselves with garlands; and decreed a crown to Pausanias, his assassin. The Athenians sacrificed to the Gods for this deliverance, and triumphed as if they had slain Philip in battle.

This

:cess of joy was very unbecoming; and
an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon
es of a murdered prince, and of a man
they had so lately revered, and crouched
the greatest servility.

CHAP. XVIII.

of Greece and Macedon, from the Death of
p to the Battle of Arbela, which secured
nder the dominion of Asia.

EXANDER immediately ascended the
irone of Macedon, upon the death of his
and took possession of a kingdom which
icy of the preceding reign had rendered
ing and powerful.
ition and an ardent thirst after glory,
om his most tender years, were the most
ent features in the character of the young

Philip valued himself much for his
ice and the beauty of his style; and had
ity to have engraved on his coins the se-
ictories which he won at the Olympic
in the chariot race: but this was not the
glory after which Alexander aspired.
his friends asked him whether he would
come a competitor for the prizes in the
ames, he answered "Yes, provided that
hould be his antagonists."
never news was brought to him that
taken some city, or gained some

battle, he was accustomed to say, in a melan choly tone of voice, "Friends! my father wi leave nothing for us to do."

Several preceptors were appointed to teac him all such arts and sciences as were worth the heir of a great kingdom. One of these wa Leonidas, a person of austere morals, and a re lation of Olympias. When they were on the journey, Leonidas would examine his trunks, i which were beds and clothes, to see whethe Olympias, his mother, had not put something su perfluous into them which might administer t delicacy and luxury.

In every branch of learning, which it wa thought necessary that he should be taught, th young prince made an astonishing progres The works of Homer were his particular study and delight, and continued to be so in his ripe years. The Iliad he was wont to consider as th noblest production of the human mind; for h discovered in it those sentiments which wer worthy of a king and of a conqueror. After th battle of Arbela, the Macedonians having foun among the spoils of Darius a box of gold en riched with precious stones, in which that princ used to put his perfumes, Alexander, who wa covered with dust, and regardless of those thing to the use of which it had been appropriate commanded that it should be set apart to con tain the writings of Homer. He had alway with him that edition of the Grecian poet's pr ductions which Aristotle revised and corrected and this he constantly laid, with his swor every night under his pillow.

Plutarch tells us that he loved to conver with learned men, and to read their writing

two admirable sources of happiness to a prince, and which enabled him to preserve himself from numberless misfortunes, and to reign without the assistance of others. On the fine arts, such as music, sculpture, and architecture, he bestowed that attention which they seemed to deserve from a prince, and sufficient to give him an idea of their value and use. He was of a lively disposition, resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion; but would always submit to reason and good sense.

He very early became an expert horseman. Bucephalus, a noble strong Thessalian horse, which had been sent as a present to Philip, was found totally ungovernable, and no person durst venture to ride him. Alexander, however, requested permission from his father, that he might mount the unruly steed. Philip at first refused his consent: but, being pressed by the young prince, he yielded at length to his intreaties. Alexander then, springing upon the back of the horse, managed him so dexterously that all present admired and applauded him. It was on this occasion that Philip shed tears of joy; and, embracing Alexander, said, "My son, seek some other kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit." It is said that when this horse was saddled and ready for battle he would suffer no other person to mount him or go near him; that he leaned down on his knees to receive his master upon his back; that after being mortally wounded in the battle against Porus, he saved the life of Alexander, by carrying him through the crowd of enemies, and then expired; and that his master shed tears for his death, and in memory of him built

on

B. C. 335. forbearance or mercy that appeared in this lamentable transaction flowed from the humanity of Alexander alone. By his particular orders, the house and family of the poet Pindar were saved from the general destruction.

The Macedonian monarch now prepared to return toward his kingdom; and received many congratulatory addresses from the several communities of Greece. The Athenians sent an embassy to deprecate his resentment against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander, however, before he would submit to grant them peace, demanded that they should give up Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, with five other orators, whose inflammatory conduct had excited the seditious spirit that prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this harsh demand; and the Athenians unanimously passed a decree that the orators whom Alexander accused should be tried, and such punishment should be inflicted on them as their conduct seemed to deserve. Alexander was highly pleased with the readiness of the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, and to punish their offending countrymen. Amidst the various embassies that were sent to the king the Spartans alone maintained a sullen or magnanimous silence. Alexander despised, or pretended to despise, their conduct; and he did not even require the contingent of troops which they ought to have furnished for the intended expedition.

Alexander now thought only of marching against

against Asia. He remembered that he was chosen general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father; and therefore prepared for the greatest enterprize that was ever undertaken by any Grecian commander.

But before he set out for Asia he determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. For that purpose he repaired to Delphos, where he happened to arrive on one of those days which are called unlucky; a time forbidden for consulting the oracle. The priestess, therefore, refused to go to the temple; but Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to prophesy, she cried out, "My son, thou art irresistible." The king immediately left her, and declared that he would have no other answer.

He then appointed Antipater viceroy of Macedon and of Greece; confiding to that general an army of above twenty thousand men, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries. He also enquired into the affairs of his friends; and gave to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the imposts of a town, to a fourth the toll of a harbour. As the king had already disposed of and exhausted all the revenues of his demesnes by his donations, Perdiccas said to him "My lord, what do you reserve for yourself?" "Hope," replied Alexander. Upon which Perdiccas rejoined, "We ought, therefore, to be satisfied with the same hope:" and for that reason he would not accept what the king had appointed him.

Having completely settled his affairs in Macedonia,

cedonia, and used all the precautions imagin
to prevent any factions from arising during
absence, Alexander departed for Asia earl
B. C. the spring. His army consisted of
334. thousand horse, and somewhat more t
thirty thousand infantry. In twenty
march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellesp
and from thence the army was conveyed to
in a hundred and sixty galleys, and a gre
number of transports. The Persians, th
long apprised of the intended invasion, ha
fully neglected all means of defending t
western frontier; and the army of Alexa
landed without opposition on the Asiatic co

The causes of this negligence in the Per
resulted in some measure from the charact
their prince, but still more from that of th
tion. Codomandus had obtained the thron
assassination and intrigues, about the time
Alexander became king of Macedon. In
space of about two hundred and thirty years
Persians had been continually degenerating
the virtues that characterise a poor and wa
nation, without at the same time acquirin
knowledge and improvements which peace
opulence generally produce; and they seeme
voted to destruction still more by their ignor
of the arts of peace and war, than by their ef
macy and luxury. The provinces had ceas
maintain any regular communication with
capital; and the standing military force w
sufficient to awe the distant satraps or vice
This mass of nations, besides, had never
properly consolidated into one system, and
ready to crumble into pieces at the shock
invader. We have seen that, under the you

, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms
most divided the empire of Persia. We
not, therefore, have much reason to ad-
he magnanimity of Alexander in under-
this expedition, if we did not also know
arius was a brave and generous prince, be-
by his subjects, and assisted by the valour
y thousand Greek mercenaries.

mnon, the Rhodian, the ablest general in
rvice of Darius, observed to the other com-
ers how difficult it was to resist the Mace-
n infantry; and that, as the invading army
lestitute of magazines or resources, its
only depended on sudden victory. On
ntrary, it was the interest of the Persians
tract the war, and to avoid a general en-
nent; and the best means of stopping the
y would be to destroy all the fruits of the
id, and to desolate the whole territory.
advice was, however, despised; and the
an army encamped on the banks of the
icus, and waited the approach of the in-
s.

Alexander drew near to this river, being
ned by his scouts of the designs of the ene-
he advanced to give them battle. The
nx marched by its flank in a double line;
avalry on the wings, and the baggage and
ons in the rear. In the mean time Alex-
r, having received intelligence of the dispo-
of the enemy, and the depth of the river,
nced within sight of the hostile ranks.
orse then spread to the right and left; the
y column of infantry opened; and the whole
ed along the bank of the Granicus, in order
ttle. The phalanx, divided into eight sec-

tions, composed the main body which c
the centre; the Macedonian cavalry for
right wing, and the Grecian the left. T
my had posted their troops on the sl
rising ground: their horse amounted to
thousand; and their foreign mercenarie
as numerous, were placed behind the ca

When Alexander had made his dis
for fighting, Parmenio approached, and
him not to attempt passing the Granicu
face of the enemy. The river, he sa
deep and full of eddies; the banks were
and craggy; and it would be impossible t
the troops across, with any hopes of succ
He therefore proposed that the army sh
main for some time in its present si
Alexander, however, determined to pas
ver immediately; and, mounting his ho
sumed the command of the right wing.
Parmenio took that of the left. The kir
distributed his orders; and the hostile
ons surveyed each other with resentmen
ror. The trumpets sounded, and a str
tachment of cavalry entered the river, l
by the king himself with other troops of
When they reached the shore, the Per
valry behaved with courage; and the fir
drons of the Macedonians were driven ba
the water: but Alexander animated the
with his voice and arm, maintained the
on the bank, and thought he had gained t
tle when he had obtained the means of fig

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the G
with equal success, at the head of the lef
The attention of the enemy was so much
ed by the successive attacks of the caval

ever opposed the passage of the phalanx. this powerful body of infantry had cross- river, the Macedonian horse had already ed the fairest honours of the field. The ness of Alexander's armour distinguished k; and he darted into the midst of the a nobles. He soon broke his spear, and ded another from Aretas, his master of but his being also broken, Demaratus, the bian, supplied him with a third weapon. armed, he rode up and attacked Mithri- son-in-law of Darius, who exulted before aks. While Alexander beat him to the l, he was himself struck by Rœsaces with iet. His helmet, however, saved his life; pierced the breast of Rœsaces. At that , a new danger threatened him from the ar of Spithridates. The instrument of was already descending on the head of nder, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spi- es, which fell to the ground with the d weapon.

heroism of Alexander animated the whole and the enemy first gave way where the mmanded in person. In the left wing scian cavalry must have fought with great y; since the Persians had begun on every give way, before the infantry had com- passed the river. The stern aspect of lanx, shining in steel and bristling with confirmed the victory. Above a thousand horse were slain in the field of battle. reek mercenaries, who composed the in- continued in their first position, not t inactive, petrified by astonishment, a te what to do. The phalanx, therefo

attacked them in front, while the victorious valry assailed their flanks. Thus surrounde all sides by the enemy, they fell an easy Two thousand surrendered themselves priso but all the rest perished.

The battle of the Granicus proved fat many of the Persian commanders. Aristes B. C. chief, who recommended this en 334. ment, died in despair by his own In this important conflict Alexande only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty lig fantry. Of the former, twenty-five were c royal band of *companions*. By command o king, their statues were formed by the art admired Lysippus, and erected in the Ma nian city of Dia.

This great victory enabled Alexander t play alike his humanity and his prudence. parents and children of those who had fal his army were thenceforth exempted from species of tribute. He carefully visite wounded in person. The Persian comm were interred; and all the Greeks, both o and soldiers. The Grecian captives were demned to work in the Thracian mines, as nishment for bearing arms against the ca their country. Alexander, however, so this severity by a very seasonable compli the Athenians, whose city was preferred the repository of his trophies and re Three hundred suits of Persian armour we immediately after the battle, as dedication goddess Minerva in the citadel. This m cent present was inscribed with the foll words; *Alexander, son of Philip, and the*

of the Lacedæmonians) gained these spoils the barbarians that inhabit Asia.

the battle of the Granicus, a way was ed to Alexander for subduing Ionia, Caria, gia, and in a word all the Asiatic provinces of the river Halys, which once formed the rful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of alled towns opened their gates to the con- r. Sardis, formerly the splendid capital æsus, once more regained its privileges, and governed by its ancient laws, after having tantly endured above two centuries the yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the oast were made free and independent, and ed of the oppression of garrisons. The sians were employed in rebuilding their le, during the expedition of Alexander st Persia. This temple had been set on by Herostratus, above twenty years before period, and, as it is said, the same night in h Alexander was born. Their pious and arable undertaking was encouraged by the g hero; who, that he might accelerate progress of the building, commanded the te which had been paid to the Persians to propriated to the temple of Diana.

letus and Halicarnassus were the only ci- hat retarded the progress of the conqueror. non, the Rhodian, commanded at the latter ; and defended it with great vigour. Alex- r had no sooner sitten down before it, than arrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, d out of the city; and, attacking the inva- maintained a desperate conflict. Having them with much difficulty, he under-

the laborious work of filling up a ditch thi
cubits broad and fifteen deep, which had b
drawn round the wall by the besieged with
credible diligence. After effecting this, Al
ander commanded wooden towers to be adva
ed, upon which the Macedonians erected th
batteries; by which means the besiegers w
able to assault the enemy to greater advanta
A nocturnal sally from the town attacked
preparations; and an engagement ensued,
which three hundred Macedonian soldiers w
slain.

Not long after, this city, which had so brav
resisted and repelled the assailants, was on
point of being taken by accident. It happer
that the battalion of Perdiccas was posted
that side of the wall which faced Miletus. T
soldiers, supping together in their quarte
boasted their military exploits, each preferri
his own. Heated with wine, they became en
lous; and determined, not indeed with the h
of victory, but with an ambition of displayi
their courage, to assault the wall of Halic
nassus. They were soon perceived by the gua
of that place, who made ready to repel the
but they slew the first that approached, and
javelins at those that followed. Before tl
were borne down by numbers, many of th
own party had hastened to their relief.
Halicarnassians also advanced to the defenc
their city; the wall was attacked; and
greater numbers joined in the assault, the
would have been taken by storm.

Alexander was unwilling to carry matter
such an extremity; but he made fresh and vi
rous attempts upon the wall. Several despe
sal

sallies were made by the besieged; who were, nevertheless, always repelled. Still they displayed the same decisive boldness which had been visible in every part of their defence. During the night they summoned together all their adherents, and set fire to a wooden tower, which had been erected as a defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and to protect their arsenals and magazines. Having performed this, they escaped to two neighbouring places of great strength. Alexander, having examined these castles, perceived that they could not be taken in a short space of time; and therefore was under the necessity of demolishing Halicarnassus, that it might not henceforth serve as a retreat to his enemies.

The Macedonian king, finding his fleet, though small and not sufficiently powerful to contend with the enemy, too expensive for his treasury, determined to discharge it; telling his officers that, if he were victorious by land, he could soon render himself master of the sea. According to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. Cleander was sent, at the same time, into Greece, that he might raise new levies; and those soldiers who had married, shortly before the expedition, were sent home. The last measure endeared Alexander to the army; and he found no difficulty in procuring supplies from his European subjects, towards the ensuing campaign.

After the decisive battle of the Granicus, Alexander experienced little resistance from numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia

every city or country that he conquered, l
stored to the Asiatics their hereditary right
to the Greeks their beloved democracy.
thersoever he marched, useful industry w
couraged, and public burdens were allevi
and his taste and his piety alike prompted h
repair the sacred and venerable remains of
quity. The barbarians were considered b
not as slaves but as subjects; and the Gree
as subjects but as allies. This conduct o
king was such that both acknowledged th
deration and equity of his government far e
ed whatever they had before experience
spectively from the despotism of Persia, a
domineering ambition of Athens and Spart

Having received the submission of many
and sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, fo
greater expedition, divided the corps und
command. A considerable detachment tr
ed the Lydian and Pamphylian mountains,
the king in person pursued the still more
gerous road that led along the sea-coast
Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shor
sea commonly beats against the rocks, rend
the passage impracticable except whe
waves are repelled by the north wind.
Alexander began his march, the wind blew
the south: he nevertheless advanced, and

Perga, ambassadors met him from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. They offered to surrender their city, but requested that Alexander would not burden them with a garrison. The king granted what they desired, on condition that they should pay him fifty talents, and deliver them the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. These terms were accepted by the ambassadors; but their countrymen refused to fulfil the agreement. When Alexander was informed of their conduct, he marched his army towards Aspendus; the greater part of which was situated on a high and steep rock, almost inaccessible, and washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were built on the plain, and surrounded only by a slender wall.

When the king approached the city, the greater part of the inhabitants betook themselves to the mountain. Alexander, having entered the place, encamped within the walls, and prepared for besieging the fortified part of the city. The Aspendians, seeing his intentions, became alarmed for their safety, and entreated that he would accept the former terms; but Alexander augmented the fine by fifty talents; and insisted that they should deliver up some of their principal citizens as hostages, and thenceforth obey the governor whom he should set over them, and submit to an annual tribute.

Having thus chastised the insolence and treachery of the Aspendians, the king resolved to march into Phrygia; that he might join his forces with Parmenio, who had been appointed to meet him in that country. In the same province also the new levies from Macedon and

Greece

Greece were commanded to meet: and it was intended to proceed eastward early in the spring and endeavour to achieve still more important and valuable conquests

The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed to be the place for assembling the troops This city is distant about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician sea. It was famous in antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of their opulence and grandeur but was more remarkable because it contained the chariot of Gordius (the original founder of its greatness) the harness of which was involved in a very intricate *knot*, concerning which an oracle had declared that whoever should loose it would become master of Asia. Alexander did not attempt to untie it; but at once cut it through with his sword, and declared that he had thus fulfilled the condition of the oracle.

But though Darius had been hitherto unsuccessful, he persevered with spirit in his military preparations. He assembled his troops in the plains of Babylon: they consisted of one hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry; but when the army was completed it amounded to six hundred thousand men. Since the time of Xerxes, the magnificence and splendour of the Persians had not diminished, nor had their military knowledge increased. Nothing could exceed the magnificence that surrounded their monarch. The trappings of his horses; the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot; the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara, were so costly as to appear almost incredibl

ble. The [illegible] and even the armour of his [illegible] were [illegible] gold, silver, and pre-cious stones. He was a[illegible]nded on this occasion by his whole family, his concubines, and his eunuchs, escorted by numerous bodies of troops. The courtiers, as usual, copied too ex-actly the effeminate manners and vices of their master.

Alexander, having received information that Darius had put his army in motion, proceeded from Gordium toward Ancyra, a city of Gala-tia. On his arrival at that place, messengers came to him from Paphlagonia, who surrender-ed to the king the whole of that province, but requested that he would not march his troops through their country. Alexander complied with their wishes; and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. The king then reduced Cappadocia, as far as the river Halys; and proceeded forward to possess himself of Cili-cia. Here were three famous streights or passes: the first at its entrance, called the Gates; the second called the streights of Amanus; and the third near the bay of Issus. The army made a rapid march, in order to possess themselves of the first of these, and encamped six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, has retained the name of Cas-tramp.

Arsames, governor of Cilicia, had [illegible] to guard the streight above-mention[illegible] Gates. The intelligence of this even[illegible] did not prevent Alexander from [illegible] purpose. He led part of his army, [illegible] watch of the night, to surprise

placed at the northern gate of Cilicia: at proach the barbarians fled; and the co Arsames, to whom Darius had entrust whole province, prepared to plunder an his own capital of Tarsus. But Ale hastened to that city, and prevented its d tion; and Arsames had scarcely time to

At Tarsus, Alexander was unavoidab tained by a malady, occasioned by b when warm in the cold waters of the rive nus, which runs through that city. Phil Acarnanian, was the only person that de not of his life. While this skilful physici preparing a medicine to aid his recovery, ander received a letter from Parmenio, w been left behind in Cappadocia, advising beware of Philip, who was bribed by D take away his life. The king, having p the letter, put it under his pillow: and Philip brought him the potion, he held letter, and desired him to read; at th time drinking off the mixture with an i countenance, without the least hesitation, covering the least suspicion or uneasiness physician, while he read the letter, be greater signs of indignation than of fear; told the king, with a resolute tone, that h to harbour no uneasiness, and that the re of his health would not fail to wipe off picion.

The potion at first wrought so violent the accusation of Parmenio was strengthe the symptoms that appeared: but at leng medicine having gained the ascendant, t began to assume his accustomed vigour; about three days he was able to shew hi

soldiers, by whom he was equally respected
l beloved. He ever afterward testified the
st extraordinary gratitude to the physician
o had assisted his recovery.

The sickness of Alexander did not interrupt
operations of the army. Parmenio was dis-
ched to make himself master of the second
s, called the strait of Amanus, which divides
icia from Assyria. The king himself followed;
l reached in one day Anchialos, a city of vast
ent, and secured with walls of a great thick-
s. He then marched his troops to Mallos, an
give colony at the eastern extremity of Cili-

Here he was informed that Darius was
h his forces in the extensive plain of Sochos.
e mountains that separate Cilicia from Syria
ided the two hostile armies. Alexander hast-
d forwards; that, having passed the straits,
ed the Syrian gates, he might advance to the
is. Having therefore proceeded through
t pass, he encamped before the city Marian-
s. Here he received intelligence that the
sian king, having heard of his stay at Tarsus,
puted the delay to a very different motive to
at really occasioned it. The courtiers and
terers of Darius persuaded that unfortunate
ace that Alexander, in his protracted stay at
sus, shunned the approach of the hostile
ıy, and was afraid to meet his antagonist in
field. The proud resentment of the Persian
ıarch, exasperated by the imagined fears of
opponent, was easily induced to believe the
rtions of his parasites; and therefore, never
king that Alexander would march to the
it near the Issus, and being desirous of bring-
the two armies to action, he proceeded in

an opposite direction through the straits of Amanus, in quest of the invader. Amyntas the Macedonian, with other Grecian counsellors in the camp of Darius, saw and depreciated the execution of this fatal measure; and they therefore exhorted that prince to wait the approach of the enemy, in the present advantageous position of his army.

Darius was, however, impelled to his ruin (in the language of antiquity) by an irresistible fate; which had ordained that the Greeks should overturn the Persian, as the Persians had the Median, and the Medes the Assyrian, monarchy. Having passed with his troops the defiles of Amanus, he marched southward to the bay of Issus; and took a city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and wounded of the Macedonian army. These had been unable to follow the rest of the troops in their expeditious march across the mountains. Darius commanded those unhappy men to be put to death in the most shocking manner; not suspecting that the avenger of their fate was so near at hand.

Alexander, having received intelligence of the enemy's situation, summoned an assembly of his officers. He neglected not to dwell on those topics of encouragement which naturally suggested themselves; and the meanest of his soldiers clearly perceived the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain and entangled themselves among intricate mountains, where their cavalry, in which they greatly excelled, could be of no essential service.

The Macedonian king ordered his men to take

some refreshment: and in the mean while he sent horsemen and archers to clear the road to Issus; then marching in the evening with his whole army, he possessed himself of the Syrian straits. Having allowed his men some time for repose, the troops were in motion at break of day. The Macedonians formed in order of battle, before they reached the river Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped. Alexander took the right wing, and Parmenio the left; drawing up in battle array between a mountain and the sea. Darius, having notice of the approach of the enemy, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry and light infantry across the Pinarus, that his troops might have room to form without confusion. He placed his Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand men, directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx: and the Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of barbarians. He ranged the rest of his troops according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks, behind the first line; but he found himself every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine which he had not skill to manage. B. C. 333.

The pusillanimity of Darius, however, proved more fatal to him than his ignorance. He commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep. Where the access seemed more easy, he ordered ramparts to be made to defend his troops from the enemy. These unseasonable precautions evinced to Alexander and to his soldiers, that the mind of Darius was already conquered; a consideration which doubtless facili-

tated the victory of the Macedonian army. Alexander having, according to custom, exhorted the officers and soldiers, gave orders that the troops should proceed slowly, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. When they came within reach of the enemy's spears, they quickened their motion; and Alexander, with his forces around him, sprung into the river. The impetuous attack of the right wing frightened the barbarians on the left, who scarcely waited the first shock; but the Greek mercenaries, who perceived that the assault was principally directed against the left wing of the Persian army, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. Here a most desperate action took place; the Greeks were anxious to regain the honour of their name; and the Macedonians were ambitious of maintaining the glory of their phalanx unsullied.

One hundred and twenty of the Macedonian officers, among whom was Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, perished in this engagement. In the mean time, the right wing of the army, having repelled the left of the Persians with great slaughter, wheeled about and attacked the Greek mercenaries, whom they finally compelled to give way. A body of Persian horse, however, still maintained the contest against the Thessalian cavalry; nor did the former quit the field until they had received information that Darius had betaken himself to flight.

In every part of the battle the discomfiture of the Persians was now visible. In the rout that ensued, their cavalry and infantry suffered greatly;

reatly : their horsemen, being heavy-armed, vere encumbered by the narrowness of the roads nd their own fear. It is said that the pursuers illed up the ditches with the dead bodies of the lain; and the number of the Persians who fell n this battle is computed at one hundred and en thousand, among whom were many satraps nd nobles.

Darius had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects that were at stake. No sooner was the left wing of his army broken, by the impetuous attack of the enemy's right, than he fled in his chariot, accompanied by a few favourites. While the country through which he had to pass was plain and open, he escaped without difficulty; but, when the road became rough and mountainous, he quitted his chariot, and mounted a horse. His shield, his mantle, and his bow, were left behind; and were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had been wounded in the thigh, judged it improper to pursue the flying monarch until the Greek mercenaries were first dispersed: the night, therefore, favoured the escape of Darius.

In the camp of the Persians, Asiatic luxury and opulence were alike displayed. But Darius had removed his magnificent treasures to the city of Damascus previous to the battle. The conquerors, therefore, only obtained three thousand talents of money; but the wealth which had been deposited in Damascus was afterward seized by order of Alexander. In the camp, however, were the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Sysigambis, and his infant son. In the chaste attention of Alexander to Statira, the fairest beauty of the east, his con-

duct was extremely laudable. These illustrio princesses bore their misfortunes with patienc and resignation; but, when they were informe by a eunuch, that he had seen part of the man tle of Darius in the hand of a Macedonian sol dier, they supposed the king had been killed and burst into dreadful lamentations. Alexan der, being made acquainted with the cause o their sorrow, sent to assure them that Darius wa yet alive: and the next day he visited them i person.

The prosperity of the Macedonian monarc continued for a long time to expand his virtues but never was the conqueror more inimitabl great than after the battle of Issus. He remitte a fine which he had formerly imposed on th city of Soli in Cilicia, inhabited by a Grecia colony, upon which he had levied heavy contri butions on account of its apostacy from the cau of Greece. The Athenian prisoners, whom h had taken in the battle of the Granicus, he re leased; a favour which he would not grant i the dawn of his prosperity. And in the city o Damascus were found many Grecian ambass dors, all of whom were now or afterward set liberty.

In his precipitate flight across the mountain the conquered king was gradually joined b about four thousand troops, chiefly Greek With this feeble escort he hastened from Soch eastward, and passed the Euphrates at Thaps cus. The inclination of Alexander to seize th person of Darius could not divert him from th plan of military operations which he had form ed. He considered that it would be improp and impolitic to proceed into Upper Asia, a

to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had subdued the maritime provinces. Having, therefore, appointed governors in Cilicia and Cœlo-Syria, he directed his march toward the south, along the coast of Phœnicia. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon readily opened their gates to the conqueror of Darius; and he then signified to the inhabitants of Tyre that he proposed to sacrifice to Hercules in their city.

When the Tyrians received this alarming intelligence they discovered no less firmness than prudence. They immediately sent an embassy to Alexander, to assure him they had formed an unalterable resolution that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their city. We cannot but wonder at this boldness in a nation whose inhabitants were wholly unaccustomed to war; but the resources of their wealth and commerce seem to have heightened the courage, instead of softening the character, of the people. Their city, which, in the language of the east, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon, had been long acknowledged the mistress of the sea. The *purple* shell fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast, gave them early possession of that lucrative branch of commerce; and the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles of antiquity was principally confined to the Tyrians They were separated from the sea by a frith half a mile broad; and their walls were a hundred feet high; and extended eighteen miles in circumference. Their industry, together with the convenience of their situation, and the capaciousness of their harbours, made their city the commercial capital of the world. It abounded with excellent artificers

in

in wood, stone, and iron, was numerously pe
pied: and had large magazines of military a
naval stores.

Notwithstanding the natural and artific
strength of this place, Alexander resolved
besiege it. He therefore began by running
mole from the continent to the walls of Ty
where the sea was about three fathom deep.
the side of the continent, the work was carri
on with great alacrity; but, when the troops a
proached the city, the inhabitants galled th
with missile weapons from the battlements, a
the depth of water incommoded them. T
Tyrians also annoyed the workmen from th
galleys; which, as they had the command of t
sea, they could easily effect. To forward th
labours, and at the same time resist these co
plicated assaults, Alexander gave orders to ere
on the farthest projecture of the mole, two wo
en towers, on which he placed engines: th
were covered with leather and raw hides, in
der to resist the burning darts and the firesh
of the enemy.

But this contrivance was soon rendered in
fectual. The Tyrians procured a large hu
which they filled with dry twigs, pitch, s
phur, and other combustibles. Two masts w
raised towards the prow, each of which v
armed with a double yard; and from the ex
mities of these were suspended vast caldr
filled with whatever substances were adapted
conflagration. As soon as the wind appea
favourable, this hulk was towed into the sea w
two galleys; and, being brought near to
mole, the sailors set the vessel on fire, and sw
to land. The works of the Macedonians w

s

i blaze; and the Tyrians, sailing forth in
revented them from extinguishing the
which means the labour of many weeks
iced to ruin in one day.

nder, however, was not to be discou-
y this misfortune: he gave orders that a
le should be raised, higher and broader
e first, and upon which engines should
placed. While these operations were
on, he received reinforcements of
rom Peloponnesus; which arrived very
nely to revive the courage of his men,
ed by fatigue, and dejected by defeat.
ritime provinces, also, which he had re-
o his subjection, sent to offer their assist-
an undertaking which could scarcely
rminated successfully so long as the Ty-
ssessed the dominion of the sea. By the
orce of Lower Asia, Cyprus, and Rhodes,
le armament of Alexander amounted to
ndred and twenty-four sail. The Tyri-
o had hitherto confided in their superi-
/ere now obliged to retire within their
's for safety.

people, however, were not discouraged
ersevering in their defence: they attack-
showers of fiery weapons the vessels des-
advance the battering engines against
alls; and beside this, still trusting in
urage, they resolved to attack the Cy-
quadron, stationed at the mouth of the
which looked towards Sidon. The
s of the design was not less than the
which they employed in carrying it
ecution. That they might conceal the
ons from the enemy, they had pr

ously fixed up sails in the mouth of the har bour. They observed that the Greeks and Ma cedonians were usually employed in private af fairs about mid-day; and that Alexander abou that time also retired to his pavilion, which wa erected near the haven, and looked towar Egypt. Against that hour, therefore, the bes sailing vessels were selected from the whol fleet, and manned with the most expert rower and the most resolute soldiers, all inured to th sea, and properly armed for battle.

These proceeded for a while slowly and silent ly; but, when they had approached within sigh of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oar raised a shout, and advanced abreast of eac other to the attack. The Tyrians sunk many o the enemy's ships at the first shock; and other were dashed against the shore. On that day Alexander had remained but a short time in h pavilion. When he was informed of this despe rate sally of the besieged, he commanded suc vessels as were ready to block up the mouth o the haven; and thus prevented the remainder o the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorio companions. In the mean time, with seven galleys hastily prepared, he sailed round to a tack the Tyrians. The inhabitants within th city, perceiving the danger of their comrade made signals to recal them to the ships; bu they had scarcely begun to shape their cours back to the city when the fleet of Alexande assailed, and soon rendered them unserviceabl Few of the vessels escaped: two were sunk i the mouth of the harbour, but the crews save themselves by swimming.

The issue of these naval operations dete

mine

d the fate of Tyre. Having proved so vic-
us over the hostile fleet, the Macedonians
fearlessly advanced their engines against
walls of the city. Amidst repeated assaults
wo days, the besiegers exhibited great ar-
and courage, and the besieged were actu-
by the desperateness of their situation.
towers, which the Greeks and Macedonians
raised to the height of the walls, enabled
to fight hand to hand with the enemy. By
assistance of pontoons, some of the bravest
iers passed over to the battlements; but on
e who attempted to scale the walls, with lad-
, the besieged poured vessels of burning
, which penetrated to the bone. The vi-
of attack could only be equalled by the
ur of resistance: the Tyrians contrived to
ken the shock of the battering engines by
n hides and coverlets of wool; and, when
enemy was so far successful as to effect a
ch in the walls, the bravest were always
ly to repel him from entering the place. —
n the third day, the engines of the besiegers
iled the walls; and the fleet, divided into
squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours at
same time. The battering engines having
ted a wide breach in the walls, Alexander
e orders to raise the scaling ladders, that the
iers might enter the town over the ruins.
netus, with the targeteers, was the first that
mpted to mount the breach; but this brave
mander soon fell: Alexander and his com-
ions, however, following after, took posses-
of the wall. The two squadrons of the fleet
e also successful: the one entered the har-
r of Egypt, while the other forced its pas-

nian army. This action, together with th
treme length of time to which the siege had
protracted, provoked the resentment of
ander, and exasperated the fury of the vi
Eight thousand Tyrians were slain in the
and thirty thousand were carried into capt
The principal magistrates of the city, to
with some Carthaginians who had come to
ship the Gods of their mother country,
refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules,
the clemency or piety of Alexander saved
The Macedonian army lost four hundred
this obstinate siege of seven months. Th

B. C. 332. Tyre, that had been for many ag
most flourishing city in the worl
had spread the arts of commerce in
remotest regions.

All Phœnicia being now conquered, th
mission of the neighbouring provinces of
immediately followed. The progress of
ander toward Egypt was interrupted h

t the garrison in defending the city. Alexan-
r summoned him to surrender: but Batis an-
ered that he would defend the place to the
most. Many of the officers advised Alexan-
r against undertaking the siege, from an idea
at the place was impregnable; but the king
as unwilling to incur the danger and disgrace
leaving such a strong fortress behind him.

He therefore began the siege in form, and
mmanded a rampart to be erected. The gar-
son made a furious sally; and Alexander, who,
rned by a heavenly monition, had hitherto
pt himself from the reach of the enemy's
rts, seeing the danger of his troops, forgot the
ine omen, and received a wound in the
oulder. Soon after, the engines that had been
ed in the siege of Tyre arrived by sea; and
e city was at length compelled to submit, but
t until every man in the place had perished
hting. Their wives and children became
ves; and Gaza, being repeopled from the
ighbouring territory, served as a military sta-
n to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

Nothing now remained to impede the con-
eror in his Egyptian expedition. Having
erefore refreshed his soldiers, he marched into
at country. The decisive victory at Issus, the
ameful flight of Darius, and the reduction of
yre and Gaza, opened him a ready passage to
e wealthy capital of Memphis. The whole
ovince immediately submitted to him; and he
as acknowledged the sovereign of that nation.
ontinually occupied with the thoughts not only
f extending but of improving his conquests,
e perceived what all the boasted wisdom of
gypt had never before been able to discover,

nations of the east, and continued, thro
the subsequent ages of antiquity, the p
bond of union, and the seat of correspo
and commerce, among the civilized part
earth.

During his stay in Egypt, Alexand
seized with an inclination to visit the te
Jupiter Ammon, which enjoyed an eq
thority with that which the Delphian
had long held in Greece, and was situated
the sandy deserts of Lydia. It is probab
had he neglected to obtain the sanction
venerated shrine, the conquest of the eas
with more difficulty have been accomp
He therefore boldly penetrated toward
despising the danger of traversing an o
sand, unmarked by trees, mountains,
other object that might direct his course,
the gloomy and uniform sterility of the
The superstition of the ancients led the

ıe source of the fertility of the place. At mid-
ay it was exceedingly cool, and warm at night.
n the intervening time, regularly every day, it
nderwent the intermediate degrees of tempera-
ure. The adjacent territory produced a fossile
alt, which was frequently dug out in large ob-
ong pieces, clear as crystal: these pieces were
nclosed by the priests of Ammon in boxes of
alm trees, and given as presents to kings and
ther illustrious personages.

Alexander, having examined the place, con-
ulted the oracle relative to the success of his ex-
edition, and received a favourable answer from
he deity. His purposes being thus effected,
e returned to Memphis, to settle the affairs of
Egypt. The inhabitants were permitted to en-
oy their ancient religion and laws. He ap-
ointed two governors of that kingdom; but the
rincipal garrisons were given to the command
f his confidential friends.

In the mean time, Darius had raised an army
ı Assyria, far beyond any force which he had
itherto collected. Alexander, receiving intel-
gence of the preparations for attacking his
rmy a third time, and considerable reinforce-
ıents from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, hav-
ng joined him, he pursued his journey east-
vard. He passed the Euphrates and the Tigris,
nd boldly marched into Assyria. Darius had
itched his tents on the level banks of the Bu-
nellus, near the obscure village of Gangamela;
ut the ensuing famous battle between these
wo kings, which finally decided the empire of
he east, took its name from Arbela, a town in
he same province.

After passing the Tigris, intelligence soon

came to Alexander that some of the enemy's horse had been seen, but the number could not be ascertained. On receiving this information, he marched his troops forward in order of battle. He had not, however, proceeded far in this manner before he was informed that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. The heavy armed troops were then commanded to slacken their pace, while he advanced at the head of the royal cohort and the light armed; and such was the celerity of his movement that several of the barbarians were made prisoners. From them he understood that the camp of Darius was within a few hours march. The strength of the enemy, they said, amounted to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants, from the eastern banks of the Indus. Others, however, with greater probability, computed the army of Darius at six hundred thousand infantry and one hundred and forty-five thousand cavalry; but it was unanimously agreed that the present forces greatly exceeded, in number, those which had fought at Issus.

This necessary information being received, Alexander rested his men four days. He then left the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage, in the camp, which was fortified; and marched with the effective part of his army, consisting of forty thousand infantry and seven thousand horse. On beholding, from some eminences, that the hostile troops were more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to expect, their appearance determined him to alter his former resolution. The infantry, therefore, was commanded to remain stationary, until a detachment

tachment of horse had carefully explored the ld of battle, and examined the disposition of e enemy. These important duties were per- rmed by Alexander in person. Having re- rned to the troops with great celerity, he as- mbled the officers of his army, and encou- ged them by a short speech. All the troops stified their ardour for an engagement, and nfidence of victory. He then gave orders at the soldiers should take some rest and re- eshment.

It is said that Parmenio advised Alexander attack the enemy during the night; alleging at they might be easily defeated, if fallen pon by surprize, and in the dark: but the ng answered loud enough for all to hear him, at it did not become Alexander to steal a vic- ry, and therefore he was resolved to fight and nquer in open day.

In the mean while Darius, being informed at the enemy was approaching, kept his men ady for action. The plain, on which his army as encamped, extended to a great length; but was, nevertheless, under the necessity of ntracting his front, and of forming into two nes. The king himself, with the princes of e blood, and the great officers of the court, cording to custom, occupied the centre of the st line. They were defended by fifteen thou- nd chosen men; but the Greek mercenaries anked those guards on the right and left. The ledes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ, form- the right wing; and the Bactrians, Persi- s, and Cardusians, the left. The infantry a- valry were promiscuously blended togeth- t designedly, but by accident. The

chariots fronted the first line; and in the centre were the elephants. Several squadrons of cavalry advanced before both wings, prepared to act according as opportunity should offer.

The Persian monarch, fearing the enemy would attack his army in the night, commanded his men to remain under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, greatly discouraged the troops, and recalled to their minds the disasters they had undergone on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

Alexander, knowing the form and order of the enemy, disposed his troops in such a manner as prudence and experience best suggested. Two phalanxes, each consisting of sixteen thousand men, composed the main body of the army. Behind these he placed the heavy armed soldiers, reinforced by his targeteers. These had orders to move to the assistance of the flanks and rear of the first line, when those divisions should be attacked. He disposed the cavalry and light infantry on the wings; and skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, principally for the purpose of aiming at the horses, or the conductors of the chariots.

He then led his troops toward the enemy in an oblique direction, by which means he avoided contending at once with superior numbers. Darius, fearing lest, in consequence of this movement, his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, gave orders to the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile line. A body of horse was immediately sent from the Macedonian army to

oppose

e them, and thus an engagement of the
ry ensued. Both parties received rein-
nents, and the barbarians were finally com-
l to retire. Their chariots then advanced
ore down upon the Macedonians. The ap-
nce of these armed carriages was at first
ying in the extreme; but many of the
ictors of them, and more of the horses,
killed before they reached the Macedo-
troops: to those that did, the army opened
y had been directed, and permitted them
ss through; they were then either taken
stroyed by the body of reserve.
rius then moved his main body; but with
le order that the infantry, mixed with the
, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line,
his generals had not the skill to fill up.
error being perceived by Alexander, he
l the decisive moment, and penetrated the
ral with a wedge of squadrons. The near-
ctions of the phalanx immediately follow-
reatly animated by the prospect of victory.
event of the battle, in this part of the field,
not long doubtful: the barbarians, after a
e opposition, retired; and the pusillanimous
is again fled with precipitation from the
gement.
t, though the left wing of the Persian army
hus completely routed, their right had al-
surrounded their immediate opponents.
Persian and Indian cavalry had penetrated
he Macedonian line, and advanced to the
y's camp; but this being perceived by the
y armed troops and targeteers posted be-
the phalanx, they speedily faced about,
attacking the barbarian horse, put them
fli

flight. Alexander, in the mean time, re ing intelligence that his left wing was in da desisted from the pursuit of Darius, an vanced against the enemy's right. Here h the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse; sharp contest ensued, in which thirty o *companions* were slain, and Hephæstion, C and Mænidas, were wounded. This bo cavalry being routed, Alexander prepar attack the infantry: but they had been al repelled by the Thessalian horse; and thu thing was left but to pursue the fugitives.

B. C. 331. victory, which decided the fate of and secured to Alexander the dom of the east, was obtained by him the loss of only five hundred men, whi least forty thousand of the Persians or the lies perished in the contest!

CHAP. XIX.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the of Arbela to the Death of Alexande Great.

DARIUS, after the defeat of his num host, escaped by a precipitate and ob flight across the Armenian mountains into dia. He was gradually joined in his rou the scattered remains of his army, amounti several thousands of barbarians, and fifteen dred Greeks. The unfortunate prince in ed, if Alexander should take up his abo Suza or Babylon, to establish his court in

. But, should the Macedonian king pursue
a thither also, he resolved to proceed east-
rd through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the
uable province of Bactria; and, that he might
pose a formidable barrier to an invading army,
designed to lay waste the intermediate terri-
y.

No sooner was Alexander informed of the di-
tion that Darius had taken than he pursued
n into Media; but, before he reached Ecba-
a, the capital of that kingdom, he received
elligence that the royal fugitive had fled from
nce five days previously to his arrival. At
batana, Alexander separated his army into
ee divisions: a strong detachment under
rmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus re-
ved orders to march with all convenient
ed into Parthia; and the king himself, with
principal part of the army, advanced as ex-
ditiously as possible to overtake Darius. He
s, however, soon informed, that Bassus and
o other associates, who were officers of that
fortunate prince, had laid aside all respect for
n, and made him their captive. When
exander learned this event he declared that
re was still greater occasion for expedition.
ving therefore left the heavy-armed soldiers
hind, he hastened forward with a select band,
vided with nothing but their arms and two
/s provisions. He had not proceeded mu
ther when he was informed that Bassus
umed the honours of royalty; that
barbarians had acknowledged
l that the Greeks, who alone
their attachment to Darius,
ord that unfortunate king an

ance. He also understood that Bassus and his associates had determined to deliver up Darius to him, if he should still follow them; but that, should he cease from the pursuit, they intended to raise forces, and divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

No sooner had Alexander received this intelligence than he dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, and, placing the bravest of his foot completely armed on horseback, he proceeded by a nearer road with the other forces that were with him. Bassus and his associates, however, perceiving that the troops of Alexander pressed hard upon them, stabbed Darius, in order to facilitate their own escape; and, notwithstanding the celerity with which Alexander hastened to his relief, the unhappy prince expired before the conqueror beheld him. Alexander ordered his body to be transported to the capital of his kingdom, and interred in the royal mausoleum; and his children were treated with that respect to which their birth entitled them. The Greek mercenaries were pardoned, and distributed into the Macedonian army; and Bassus, being soon after taken by the troops of Alexander, was treated with a barbarity that his crimes merited, but which it did not become the conqueror of the east to inflict.

In pursuit of Spitamenes, who succeeded to the ambition and dangerous command of Bassus, Alexander was carried through the vast but undescribed provinces of Asia, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. On several occasions the Scythians attacked his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abrupt-

ness

their assault was only equalled by their retreat. In numbers, courage, and stra- they were inferior to none: but the dis- and intrepidity of the Greeks and Mace- s finally prevailed over barbarian craft esultory fury. Alexander passed the s, and, attacking the Scythians in a ge- ngagement on the northern bank of that completely defeated them.

barbarians fighting singly were succes- subdued; and the prisoners whom Alex- took were distributed into his army, they thus reinforced. He then divided ops into five formidable brigades, com- d by his generals and himself. Conus, the commanders, attacked and defeated enes; who was soon afterwards slain by ythians, and his head sent to Alexander. he death of Spitamenes, the enemy made e opposition in the plain; but two strong ses, in the provinces of Sogdiana and cone, still continued to hold out. In the Oxyartes, the Bactrian, had placed his d children. The rock was high, steep, gged, almost inaccessible, and prepared long siege; but all these obstacles were me by the irresistible bravery and exer- f the Macedonian soldiers.

his castle was Roxana, the daughter of tes; who was considered as one of the st beauties of the east. Alexander admired m and accomplishments; but, even in the r of youth and the intoxication of prospe- e disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, posed the maxims and example of his ag untry. He would not transgress the la

of humanity or chastity; but afterward raise Roxana to the throne.

While the king was in Bactria, he understoo that the Parætacians were in arms. As soon a he received this intelligence, he marched hi army into that country, and laid siege to th fortress of Chorienes, where his most danger ous enemies had shut themselves up. Thi place was soon compelled to surrender to the va lour and intrepidity of the besiegers.

By such memorable achievements Alexande subdued the nations between the Caspian sea the river Iaxartes, and the lofty chain of moun tains which supply the sources of the Indus an Ganges. The great abilities of this enterprising general were sufficiently distinguished in th conduct of this remote and dangerous war. Ever anxious to inspire his troops with a portion o that spirit which animated himself, he was continually encouraging them to the performance of daring and hazardous undertakings. By his example they were taught to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger. Neither steep and rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity. The courage he possessed stimulated him to still greater attempts, which in an unsuccessful commander would have been considered as acts of temerity: yet amid the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, and bloody battles, he generally respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity.

The nations which he subdued were permitted o enjoy their ancient laws and privileges: th rigours of despotism were softened; and the mos austere

of the Macedonian governors were in-
l by the example and compelled by the
ty of their sovereign to observe the laws
ce toward the meanest of their subjects.
nded cities and established colonies on
ks of the Iaxartes and the Oxus, that he
estrain the fierce inhabitants of Scythia.
structive campaigns, therefore, which he
in contending with the Bactrians, Scy-
and other barbarous nations, and which
ibed to his restless activity and blind am-
appeared to this extraordinary man as
l not merely for securing his present but
aining future conquests.

ng the first three years after Alexander
vaded the Persian dominions, Antipater
reece in tranquillity; but, being obliged
ertake an expedition into Thrace, the
emonians, who had long felt and express-
ish to attack Macedon, seized that fa-
le opportunity. They procured rein-
ents from other Grecian communities;
e allied army, when assembled, B. C.
ted to twenty-two thousand men: 330.
ıtipater, having quelled the insur-
in Thrace, marched with his army into
nnesus; and engaging the confederates
d them, and slew three thousand, in the
r of whom was the king of Sparta. From
riod to the death of Alexander, Greece
d an unusual degree of tranquillity. Un-
s sovereignty the exploits of the Greeks,
directed to other purposes, surpassed all
tories they had formerly obtained. By a
ırity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of
olitical disgrace coincides with the most

B. C. young hero prepared early in the
327. to undertake a remote and danger
pedition against India. He appoint·d A
governor of Bactria, and left him a forc
cient to keep in awe the surrounding pro
He then marched toward the south w
greatest part of his army; and travers
Paropamisus, a link of that immense cl
mountains which reaches from the coast
licia to the sea of China, and which the
confounded with the northern chain, of
Scythian Caucasus forms a part, and wh
mote branches extend from the shores
Euxine to the eastern extremity of T
Such is the strong frame that supports tl
of Asia. The intermediate space is fa
elevated than any other portion of the
continent; and, if we except the obscur
dition of Darius, the towering heights o
pamisus had hitherto defended the feeb

strong resistance against the army of Alexander: but, when he at length reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces, retaining the greater part of the troops under his own command; and detaching the remainder under Hephestion and Perdiccas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for passing that river. Those generals executed the commission entrusted to them with ease and success.

In the mean time Alexander bent his march towards the Choe or Choaspes; on the banks of which he met with a warlike and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The Macedonians having engaged and defeated them in a general battle, Alexander accomplished his purpose. He then marched with the horse and light armed troops to the river Euaspla; on the banks of which was assembled the chief strength of the Aspians, the principal nation in those parts. Having separated his forces into three divisions, the army advanced against the enemy; who, confiding in their numbers, rushed into the plain: but the barbarians, fighting without order, were constrained to retire with the loss of forty thousand men.

He then projected an expedition for reducing the Assacenians; who were said to have an army of twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to oppose him. When, however, he approached the territories of this people they retired within the walls of their city; but, seeing that the forces of Alexander were not so numerous nor formidable as they at first expected, they engaged the Macedonian army in the plain. They fought with incredible

bravery; but could not sustain the shoc
Macedonian phalanx, and were exposed
slaughter in their retreat to the city.

Near the western margin of the Indus
zirians, associating themselves with som
who had determined to preserve their i
dence, withdrew to a certain rock, w
natural position, together with their
and experience, they expected would
secure retreat. This fortress was called
Greeks mount Aornos. It extended tw
dred furlongs in circumference, eleven i
where lowest, and was accessible by o
dangerous path cut in the rock. On
was a plentiful fountain of water; a fi
part of which was covered with a thick
and the rest was arable land, fit for em
the labour of a thousand men. While
der was preparing all things necessary
dertaking the siege of the place, an
with his sons, who had long inhabited t
mit of the rock, came to offer him thei
ance, and to shew him a private way of
ing it. Ptolemy, therefore, had orders
ceed with a considerable body of troo
to make an entrenchment in the wood,
the old man was to direct him. Ptolemy
safely reached the place, made signals t
ander that he had succeeded.

Both that general and the king now a
the fortress at once, but were driven bac
enemy. Alexander therefore gave o
cut down the trees in the neighbourhoo
which to fill up the cavities between th
and the advanced post of Ptolemy.
dians, seeing the enemy likely to suc

ilan, sent deputies offering the surrender
place. Alexander, having heard their
als, suspected that they intended an
: and no sooner therefore had they de-
ed the mountain than he took possession
deserted rock; and, having previously
a proper detachment to intercept the fu-
s, put them to the sword.

Macedonians proceeded southward, from
s, into the country between the Cophenes
ie Indus. As they advanced in this di-
they were met by a deputation of citizens
Nysa. When the deputies were conducted
exander, who had just sitten down in his
overed with sweat and dust, and armed
his casque and lance, they exhibited marks
onishment and horror, and fell prostrate
him. The king, understanding that their
nment was aristocratical, demanded a hun-
f their principal citizens as hostages, and
hundred of their cavalry to reinforce his
Acuphis; who headed the embassy, re-
" You are welcome, O king! to three
ed horsemen, and more if necessary; but
a state has lost one hundred of its most
us citizens it cannot long continue in
." Alexander therefore remitted that
of his demand, and accepted the cavalry,
accompanied him in his expedition.
the eastern bank of the Indus, Alexander
ed the submission of the neighbouring
s. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most
lerable, presented to the king thirty ele-
s, and reinforced his army with seven hu
Indian horse, and five thousand foot.
of his conduct is said to have bee

enmity that subsisted between him and Porus, a prince whose territories were situated on the other side of the Hydaspes.

It was about the summer solstice when Alexander reached the Hydaspes; and the waters of the river were swollen, at that season, by the melted snow which descends in torrents from Paropamisus, as well as by the periodical rains. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike monarch, had encamped on the opposite bank of the Hydaspes with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. Alexander found it impossible to practise upon this prince as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in view of so numerous an army. He therefore collected provisions, and pretended that he intended to remain in his present position until the water in the river should decrease; but Porus was not to be deceived by this artifice.

Alexander, therefore, alarmed the enemy for many nights successively; until he perceived that Porus considered it as only a feint to harass his troops, and no longer drew out his forces as usual. This false security of the Indian king enabled Alexander to accomplish his purpose. About eighteen miles from the camp was a lofty rock, covered with trees; and near the rock an island, overrun with wood and uninhabited. Having left the Macedonian phalanx, the new levies, and the auxiliaries, with a division of cavalry, under the command of Craterus, he marched to the rock with the rest of the troops under cover of the night. These judicious dispositions were favoured by a violent tempest of rain,

hunder, and lightning. When the storm hat abated, the horse and infantry, in proportions as both the boats and infan they had prepared could convey, passed nperceived into the island. Alexander line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty y Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Ly us; names destined to fill the ancient when their renown was no longer ec d by the irresistible diffusion of their glory.

king was the first that reached the oppo nk, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, astened to inform Porus that Alexander is troops were passing the river. The prince immediately dispatched his son wo thousand horse and one hundred and armed chariots, to oppose the landing of acedonians. These troops, however, came e to defend the bank; and, being attacked forces of Alexander, were speedily broken it to flight. Their leader and four hun orsemen were slain, and most of the cha aken.

discomfiture of these troops deeply af Porus; but his immediate danger would dmit of much reflection. Craterus pre to pass the river and attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the shock Macedonian horse, elated with victory, in this emergency, acted with equal pru and firmness: he left part of the elephants ose Craterus in passing the river, and at ad of his whole army marched in person t the enemy, commanded by Alexander lf. His horse amounted to four thousand,

and

arrangement, he expected that the horse
Macedonian army would be deterred fr
vancing at sight of the elephants; nor
suppose their infantry would attack his a
front, while they would be exposed to an
in flank, and in danger of being tramp
der the feet of those terrible animals.
extremities of the line, the elephants
wooden towers, filled with armed men
the cavalry were posted on the wings,
vered in front with the armed chariots.

The abilities and prudence of this prin
dered him the most formidable of the ba
enemies which the Macedonians had to
ter. But even these qualities were fe
yield to the superior degree in which th
possessed by Alexander; who made su
dicious arrangement of his forces that,
engagement which ensued, the Indi
twenty thousand foot and three thousan
killed, all their chariots hacked to pie

ght being retarded by his wounds, he was ertaken by Taxiles; whom Alexander had nt to persuade him to surrender, and to assure m that he should be treated with the utmost ndness and respect. Porus, however, dis- ining the advice of an ancient and (as he be- ved) inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, d prepared to renew the combat. Alexander en dispatched to him Meroe, an Indian of dis- nction, who had formerly lived with Porus in bits of intimacy and friendship. By his en- eaties the high-minded prince, overpowered y thirst and fatigue, surrendered; and having freshed himself with drink and repose, de- red to be conducted to Alexander. As soon the conqueror knew that Porus was coming, went with several of his friends to meet im.

The Indian king was seven feet high, exactly roportioned, of a noble aspect and majestic eportment. Alexander, therefore, admiring is martial appearance and magnanimity, de- red Meroe to ask wherein he could oblige m? Porus replied, "By treating me as a king:" hich being reported to Alexander, he said ith a smile, "That I should do for my own ke; but what can I do for yours?" Porus swered, "All my wishes are contained in at one request." This firmness of conduct as agreeable to the disposition of Alexander, d he declared Porus reinstated on his throne; knowledged him as his friend and ally; and, ving soon afterward received the submission the Glausians, who possessed thirty-seven ci- s on his eastern frontier, each of which con- ined near eight thousand inhabitants, he added

this

this populous district to the dominions of his new confederate.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be built: one on the field of battle, which he called Nicæa; the other where his troops had been encamped, which he named Bucephala, in honour of his horse which died there. All the slain were buried with military honours, solemn sacrifices offered to the Gods, and gymnastic and equestrian games performed on the banks of the Hydaspes.

Without encountering any memorable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. Natural obstacles, were the principal if not the only difficulties with which he had now to contend. The Acesines is a deep and rapid river, fifteen furlongs broad, and has great rocks in the channel. These rocks, opposing the rapidity of the stream occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable and dangerous. Of the Macedonians who attempted the passage in boats, many were driven against the rocks and perished; others however, who employed hides, were more fortunate, and reached the opposite shore in safety. The breadth of the Hydraotes is equal to that of the Acesines, but the current flows more gently.

Alexander was informed that the Catheans, Mallians, and other independent nations, had confederated, and were prepared to oppose his progress. As soon as the king received this intelligence, he marched to give them battle. In a few

a few days he reached the city of Sangala; situated on the top of a hill, with a fine lake behind it. Before this place the confederate Indians were encamped; and, instead of a breastwork, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages, in the midst of which were their tents.

Alexander advanced with his cavalry; but finding them unfit for making an assault, he immediately dismounted; and conducted a battalion of foot against the enemy. The Indians defended themselves with great bravery; but, at length, the first line of their carriages was broken, and the Macedonians entered. The second was much stronger; Alexander, however, attacked it, and after a desperate resistance, forced that also. The Indians immediately retired into the city: which Alexander would have invested; but, the infantry he had with him not being sufficient for the purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake. The second night he received intelligence that the enemy designed to make their escape through the lake, which was fordable. He therefore caused the cavalry to surround the city; and this precaution was attended with success: the foremost of the Indians who forded the lake were killed by the Macedonian horse; and the rest were compelled to retire into the town.

In the mean time Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Animated by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. They therefore erected the engines; the

Several other ladders were also broken, and these accidents he was left for some momen contend singly with the enemy. He kille veral with his sword, and pushed others ove walls; but the Indians from the adjacent t galled him with their arrows. Perceiving only three Macedonians had followed him threw himself therefore into the citadel; Peucestas, Leonatus, and Abreas followe example. Immediately they were attacke the enemy; Alexander was shot in the b with an arrow, and at length fell senseless his shield.

The Macedonians had now burst through gates of the place, and their first care w carry off their king. They then prepared t venge his death; for they had every reas believe that his wound was mortal. The pon is said to have been extracted by Perdi one of Alexander's life guards; who, by command of his master, opened the wound his sword. The king's immediate death threatened by the great effusion of blood followed. A swooning, however, retarde circulation of the fluids, and thus stoppin discharge of blood saved his life. As so his health would permit, he shewed himse his soldiers, who testified immoderate joy recovery.

Having arrived at the ocean, Alexander ceeded toward Persepolis, through the dese Gedrosea. The soldiers were so pressed hunger, during the journey, that they obliged to kill and eat the horses and mul their carriages. Frequently they met wit water during a whole day, nor perhaps at

Nu

rs perished through these difficulties;
s it until after a march of two months,
ished by unexampled hardships, that the
merged into the cultivated provinces of
nia.

alus, Orsines, and Abulites, the respec-
vernors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Suza,
o despise the orders of Alexander during
ence, and to assume independent sove-
es. The king was not ignorant how to
n emergency of this nature. He there-
arched immediately toward Pasargadæ,
body of horse and light-armed troops.
was accused by the people of many
s crimes; and, the proofs being exhibit-
nst him, he was put to death: and Bary-
Mede, who had assumed the royal tiara,
brought a prisoner by Atrogates, was also
ed together with his accomplices in the

The king then proceeded to Suza;
Abulites and his son Oxathres, who were
d with enormous crimes, suffered the most
unishment.

palus, whose conduct at Babylon had been
flagitious, escaped with his treasures to
. The Athenians were willing to re-
im, on account of his riches; but, afraid
bour the enemy of Alexander, by a de-
f the people he was therefore expelled
, and soon afterward slain. Peucestas,
ved the king's life when he fought against
le garrison, was made governor of Persia.
igunity was no sooner conferred upon him
e laid aside the Macedonian garb, and put
e Median habit. He was the only one
f the officers of Alexander who, by con-

forming to the manners of the vanquished, quired the affectionate esteem of the people co mitted to his care.

In the central provinces of his empire, Al ander spent the last year of his life. He repa ed the harbour, constructed arsenals, and form a bason at Babylon sufficient to contain a th sand galleys. The navigation of the great riv of his empire was also enlarged. By th means he hoped to facilitate internal intercou among his central provinces; while, by openi new channels of communications, he expect to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and t east with the most remote regions of the ear He dispatched ships to explore the Persian a Arabian gulphs; and such was the favoura account brought him by Archias, relative to t former, that he adopted the resolution of pla ing its shores with Grecian colonies.

While Alexander was at Suza, he public espoused Barcine, the daughter of Darius; a gave her youngest sister in marriage to his vourite Hephestion. Fourscore Persian ladies rank were also given to his principal office The nuptials were solemnized after the Persi manner. He likewise feasted all the Macedo nians who had married before in that countr and it is said that the soldiers, encouraged presents, and by the hope of royal favour, f lowed the example of their leaders; and th ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians marri Asiatic women.

Alexander now gave himself up to mirth a feasting; and his army was followed by all t ministers of pleasure. He spent whole days a nights in immoderate drinking; and in one

tho

those excesses his friend Hephestion lost his life. During three days after the death of the favourite, Alexander neither changed his apparel nor tasted food; and it is even thought that the death of his beloved friend accelerated his own.

Alexander having subdued the Cosseans, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, marched toward Babylon. The king, who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to fall a prey to that miserable delusion. It was not long before his courtiers and subjects became sensible of the foible of their master, and endeavoured to abuse his weakness. Apollodorus, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, and had behaved himself ill in that station, tampered with Pythagoras, a diviner. When therefore he drew near to Babylon, a deputation was sent, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw it would be prejudicial to his health. As the Babylonish astrologers were held in great repute, this advice made a deep impression on his mind, and filled him with confusion and dread. The Greek philosophers being told the foundation of his fear and scruples, waited upon him, and fully demonstrated to him the vanity and absurdity of divination. He was convinced by their reasoning, and immediately marched his army toward Babylon.

The Chaldeans, therefore, failing in their first attempt, had recourse to another expedient. They entreated him at least not to enter the city on the eastern side; but to make a circuit round, and march with his face toward the rising sun. Alexander prepared to comply with

their request; but the marshiness of the soi rendered his design impracticable. He wa therefore reluctantly compelled to enter Baby lon by the forbidden road.

While he remained in that city, superstitiou fears, awakened by the intrigues of Apollodoru or the artifices of the Chaldeans, greatly disturb ed his mind. Several circumstances that ha happened, during the time of his expedition int India, confirmed him in these scrupulous ideas He had conversed with the Brachmans; wh *practised* the philosophy that Plato *taught*, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures o the present life was founded on the firm belie of a future, better, and more permanent stat of existence. One of these sages expressed a desire to accompany the king in his expedition. Alexander treated him with great respect; and when Celanus (for that was the name of the sage) fell sick in Persia in his seventy-third year, the prince earnestly desired him not to anticipate his fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on his purpose, he allowed a funeral pyre to be constructed, and the Brachman was carried to it in a litter. Having embraced all present, he refused to tak leave of Alexander, saying, that "he shoul again see him in Babylon." He then, in sigh of the whole army, mounted the pyre. Th music struck up, and the soldiers raised a shou of war; while the Indian with a serene counte nance expired amidst the flames, singing a hym to the Gods of his country.

The words of a dying man were considere by the Greeks as prophetical. Those of Cela nus sank deep into the mind of Alexander; an th

e painful impression which they made induced
m to hasten his journey from a city in which
many concurring circumstances for-
de him to reside. His life, however, B. C.
as now drawing to a close. He indulg- 324.
l himself in that banqueting and festivity to
hich, after the fatigues of war, he had been ex-
emely addicted. An excessive use of wine put
period to his existence, in the thirty-third year
his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

In a scene of drunken debauchery some time
fore this event, Clitus, emboldened by wine,
ad daringly insulted his prince, vilified his no-
lest actions, and derided his pretensions to di-
nity. The king was also intoxicated; and
litus continuing his insolent conduct, Alexan-
r, in an unhappy moment, thrust a spear into
e breast of his friend. He instantly, however,
pented of the action; and would have destroy-
himself with the same weapon, had he not
en prevented by his attendants.

Notwithstanding the splendour of his actions
id the greatness of his achievements, there ap-
ears to be but little to admire and still less to
itate in the character of Alexander. The
urage for which he was so much celebrated is
ly a subordinate virtue, depending chiefly on
nstitution and natural spirits. The fortunate
ue that attended his enterprizes was little more
an an accidental advantage. The martial dis-
pline that distinguished his troops had been
ised and cultivated chiefly by his father Phi-
p; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his va-
ity, his passion for useless conquests were all
is own. His victories however served to crown
te pyramid of Grecian glory; and demonstrated

to the world to what a degree of excellen
arts of peace can promote those of war. I
picture, we view a combination of petty s
by the arts of refinement, becoming supe
the rest of the world, and leaving manki
example of the inferiority of brutal force t
nobler advantages of intellect.

CHAP. XX.

*Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the
of Alexander the Great to the Battle of Ip*

SOON after the death of Alexander, his f
were convened, and all the principal
manders of the army were summoned to
sembly. When silence was obtained, Per
gave orders that the chair of Alexander
be produced, on which he placed the in
of royalty, together with the ring that t
ceased monarch had given him as an earn
his friendship and esteem. Perdiccas th
clared that it was indispensably requisite
person should be elected head of the g
ment; and that, as Roxana was pregnant,
brought forth a son he ought to be ackno
ed the successor to the Macedonian e
This, however, was displeasing to the maj
who had begun to entertain an affecti
Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, on a
of his mildness and moderation. They
fore arrayed him in the royal robes, bu
on him the armour of Alexander, a
luted him by the name of Philip, that he
th

y be rendered more popular. He was,
er, a man of weak intellect; not naturally
t by the practices of Olympias, who, by
ous draughts, had debilitated both his con-
on and his mind.

diccas strenuously, though secretly, op-
the election of Aridæus to the throne;
finding that his influence in the general
il was likely to be outweighed, he imme-
y saw the necessity of disguising his real
ents, and therefore coincided with the rest.
however decreed that the sovereignty
l be divided, between Aridæus and the
to be born of Roxana, if it should prove a
Perdiccas on every occasion endeavoured
inuate himself into the favour of the newly
d king, and contrived to procure the death
se who had been the means of raising him
throne. In order that he might secure
mself the affection of the army, Philip was
aded to marry Eurydice, the grand-daugh-
f Philip; whose mother through his insti-
had lost her life.

is action was certainly calculated to ensure arm and steady support of the soldiers, as eared to continue the government of the e in his family. It was necessary also that ould conciliate the friendship of Roxana, son was intended to share the sovereignty him. By this time she had been delivered oy, who was named Alexander. Barsine ise, the daughter of Darius, whom the de- d king had married at Suza, was pregnant. s therefore resolved between Roxana and ccas that, lest another son should appear pute the throne with Alexander, Barsine should

should be put to death. Accordingly she suf fered soon after; and Parysatis, the sister o Barsine and widow of Hephestion, underwen the same fate. By these nefarious proceedings Perdiccas endeavoured to obtain and secure th favour and esteem of Aridæus and Roxana; but, while the Macedonian empire seemed to be un der the dominion of two kings, it was in reality subject to the authority and guidance of one ruler only. No act, whether legislative or executive, was passed, which did not originate from Perdiccas.

The supremacy which this ambitious man had acquired did not however satisfy him. His views extended much farther than to the possession of mere temporary honours; and he look ed to the time when he should be saluted and reverenced as monarch of the Macedonian empire. He determined to render the distinctions he had already obtained as permanent as they were really great and substantial. It was necessary therefore, to remove from the court all competitors; and to place them in such distant and separate situations that they could not eclips his glory, nor rival his power: and, to attain this purpose, it was requisite that the severa subordinate governments and great offices of th empire should be judiciously distributed. A council was therefore held, in which it was re solved that the following arrangements shoul be made in the name of the two kings. Anti pater had the government of the European pro vinces, as general of the army in that continent Craterus was vested with the title of protector i the same parts; and Perdiccas had the office with the title, of general of the household troops

room of Hephestion. Ptolemy, the son
gus, had Egypt, Lybia, and that part of
a which borders upon Egypt. To Lysi-
as fell Thrace and the Chersonese; Eu-
had Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; Anti-
had Phrygia the Greater, Lycia, and
hylia; and Seleucus was appointed com-
er of the royal cavalry. The station of
ecas might seem the meanest and most in-
erable: but, though it wanted the deco-
s of splendour, that deficiency was more
ompensated by the power which it con-
. Perdiccas was at full liberty to prose-
he great purposes of his ambition. The
ings were at his disposal, and he was at the
of a trusty and well-disciplined body of
s; while, on the other hand, his rivals
obliged to seek their fortunes in distant
of the world.

nwhile, the Greek colonists, whom the con-
r of the east had settled in Upper Asia,
of continuing in that country, prepared to
home. Having, therefore, united their
, amounting to upward of twenty thou-
aen, they took their departure for Europe,
ut requesting the permission of Perdiccas.
general, foreseeing the consequences of
n enterprize at a time when every thing
motion, and when the troops and their
s aspired to independence, dispatched
m to oppose them. On his arrival, this
ander brought over by money three thou-
Greeks, who treacherously deserted their
des during the engagement, and he there-
ained a complete victory. The vanquish-
ops surrendered, on condition that their
lives

lives and liberties should be pres... Macedonians however, who had receive ent orders from Perdiccas, inhumanly tered them all without the least regard terms which had been granted them.

The news of Alexander's death, having ed Athens, excited a considerable tumult city, and occasioned universal demonstra joy. The people, who had reluctan silently endured the Macedonian yoke, diately prepared for war: and a deputat instantly sent to all the states of Greece, them to join in a confederacy against M Demosthenes, who amidst his misfortune retained an ardent zeal for the interest of his country, was at that time in exi gara. He, however, joined himself Athenian ambassador; and, seconding monstrances by the irresistible force quence, engaged Argos, Corinth, an cities of Peloponnesus, to accede to th restoring the liberty of Greece. Th struck with admiration at so genero ... action, immediately pa

the expected reinforcements arrived, he directed his course into Thessaly, at the head of only thirteen thousand Macedonian infantry and six hundred horse. The Thessalians at first declared in favour of Antipater; but when they saw the confederated Greeks advancing, and perceived how greatly superior they were in numbers to the Macedonians, they revolted to the hostile army. Antipater, however, was not discouraged by their defection; but ventured an engagement, in which his forces were defeated. Not daring to hazard another battle, he retired to Lamia, a city of Thessaly, which he caused to be fortified, and here he prepared to make an obstinate defence.

The Athenians and confederate troops advanced to attack the town, and assaulted it with great bravery. The enemy, however, resisting them vigorously, they were obliged to convert the siege into a blockade, and to endeavour to reduce the place by famine. The city soon became sensible of the growing scarcity, and the besieged began to be seriously disposed to surrender when Leosthenes, in hastening to the assistance of his workmen whom the enemy had attacked, received a wound of which he died. This incident greatly discouraged the Athenians. They did not however despair, nor relinquish their system of conquest; but chose Amphipilus for their general, a man equally esteemed by the troops on account of his valour and his abilities.

In the mean time, Leonatus was marching to the assistance of the Macedonians besieged in Lamia, not with any real design of assisting Antipater, but that he might make himself master of those countries; and arrived within a

small distance of the city, with twenty thous
foot and two thousand five hundred horse. T
army of the enemy was somewhat more nu
rous. An engagement ensued, in which
Athenians were victorious, and Leonatus per
ed in the field of battle. Overjoyed with th
successes, and despising the feeble resistanc
the Macedonians, many of the Grecian tro
returned home, to boast of the triumph th
had obtained, and to congratulate their frie
on the revival of ancient freedom. But this
joicing was of short duration. Antipater, h
ing quitted the city the day after the bat
joined the reinforcement from Cilicia, under
command of Crateras; and an engagement t
place near the city of Cranon, in Thessaly
which the confederated Greeks suffered a
feat.

After this battle, a deputation was sent to
tipater, requesting a general peace. That c
mander, however, replied that he would t
separately with the several states and citie
the confederacy. On the answer being rec
ed, the negociation was suspended; and
Greeks, disbanding their troops, returned ho
In a short time, therefore, every city and ev
state was under the necessity of acceding
whatever terms Antipater thought fit to imp

Athens was the only city that was excep

delivered up. This distinotion they undoubtedly owed to their superior services, performed in the cause of their country. The democratical form of government was to be abolished, the ancient mode of taxes restored, the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights, and Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the expences of the war.

Some of the Athenians seemed satisfied with these conditions, and considered them as lenient and moderate; but Xenocrates thought otherwise, and said, "They are moderate for slaves, but extremely severe for free men." They were, however, compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garrison, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and an intimate friend of Phocion. To such a humiliating condition was Athens now reduced, which had formerly been the glory of the world! Upward of twelve thousand Athenians were disfranchised; many of them, finding their situation insupportable, went into Thrace, and settled there. B. C. 322.

Upon the arrival of the messenger who brought the first accounts to Athens of the disgraceful treaty which had been concluded, Dem[illegible]es fled to Celauria, a small island opposite t[illegible] zene. Antipater, informed that the ora[illegible] eluded his vengeance by flight, [illegible] chias to seize him. This man [illegible] the island with a body of troo[illegible] to persuade him to return [illegible] that Antipater would treat [illegible] Demosthenes, however, kne[illegible] to expect any favour from [illegible] to prevent the designs of t[illegible]

ed poison, and soon fell dead at the foot of altar, where he had taken sanctuary.

In the mean time, Perdiccas, who had merly married Nicea, the daughter of Antipa having obtained the regency of the whole Ma donian empire, became more exalted in thoughts, and was desirous of espousing Cl patra, the sister of the late king. So near alliance with the family of Alexander would expected, secure to him the throne. Anti nus penetrated these designs, and foresaw their success would be infallibly atten with his own destruction; he therefore pa over into Greece, and disclosed to Antipater plan which Perdiccas had formed for obtain the sovereignty. Ptolemy also, the governo Egypt, was engaged in their interest; and parations were made for frustrating the proj of the regent.

Ptolemy remonstrated with Perdiccas on inequality of the arrangements which had made in the empire; and was the first who claimed the power of the united monarchs, prepared in the face of the world to act the of an independent sovereign. Removed at a distance from the seat of government, he c strengthen his army and establish his domi without interruption. Encouraged by these cumstances, he hastened to render his possess fixed and secure. Perdiccas, who had early tice of these proceedings, deliberated whe he should march into Egypt with a powe army, or first direct his course toward Mac nia, and engage Antipater and Craterus. preparations, however, which Ptolemy made, seemed too alarming to admit of any

y; it was therefore resolved that Perdiccas ould march against him, while Eumenes, with numerous body of forces, guarded the Asiatic rovinces against Antipater and Craterus.

After undergoing considerable fatigue, the re- ent and his army passed the Egyptian frontier. lostilities immediately commenced; and fre- uent and vigorous efforts were made by the oyal troops against Ptolemy, but in vain. The orces of that general were uniformly victorious; nd the soldiers of Perdiccas, dejected by their l success, and exasperated by the haughty and verbearing deportment of their commander, utinied, and slew him in his tent.

During these transactions, the other parties vere not inactive. Antipater entered Cilicia, vith an intention of assisting Ptolemy in Egypt; nd Craterus was detached, with the remainder f the forces, against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. The reputation of Craterus was o great among the Macedonians that it was ex- ected, when he appeared in the field, all the ational troops of the hostile army would imme- iately revolt and arrange themselves under the anners of their favourite general. Eumenes was aware of this danger; and, in order to guard gainst such an accident, he kept his army igno- ant of the enemy against whom they had to con- end, and posted the foreign troops opposite the Macedonian soldiers. By this cautious arrange- nent, the forces under the command of Eumenes ever knew against whom they fought, until they eheld Craterus breathless on the field of battle.

By the death of Craterus, Phila, the daughter f Antipater, whom he had married, was left a idow. From a two-fold cause, therefore, An-

must have been afflicted by the loss which sustained. He was not, however, doom- mourn long; a palliative was very soon at him, which was the intelligence of the of Perdiccas. In consequence of that im- nt event, Antipater was solicited to join the in Syria, in order to make new arrange- ts for the government of the empire. He efore hastened thither with all expedition; upon his arrival was unanimously elected rector of the kings.

As soon as he was invested with this authority, made a new partition of the provinces, in hich all those were excluded who had espoused ne interests of Perdiccas and Eumenes. He lso re-established others, whom the opposit faction had dispossessed; and in this divisio Seleucus, who had great authority from the co mand of the cavalry, obtained the governm of Babylon, and afterward became the m powerful of all Alexander's successors. A pater, having adjusted matters in Asia, sent tigonus with an army against Eumenes; was determined in his purpose of waging with the enemies of Perdiccas, because he sidered them as inimical to the real inter Macedon. Cassander, the son of Antipat also appointed to the command of a consi body of troops, with secret injunctions t with a jealous eye the proceedings of An He disputed not the valour and conduc general; but he prudently thought him and enterprising to be constantly awe irresolute and tardy commands of a di distracted government. Antipater th ed to Macedon.

Antigonus prepared to act with uncommon vigour against Eumenes. He had every incentive to dispatch: his temper was naturally suited to action; he was dissatisfied with the manner in which the great departments in the state were filled; and, bearing an enmity against Eumenes, he had the sanction of authority for crushing him at once. An engagement soon followed, in which Eumenes, by the treachery of one of his soldiers, was completely defeated. This discomfiture, however, occasioned one of the most extraordinary actions of his life: he returned unperceived to the field of battle, burned the bodies of his slain companions, and raised over their ashes a mound of earth; then dismissing the sick and wounded of his army, he retired with six hundred men to the castle of Nora, a place of great strength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, in which he sustained a siege of twelve months against the whole strength of Antigonus's army, and at length forced it to retire. B. C. 320.

During these transactions in Asia, the Athenians, dissatisfied with the Macedonian garrison in their city, sent Demades to request of Antipater that he would recal the troops from Athens. The Athenians had first applied to Phocion, whose influence with that general they knew to be great. But he declined to interfere in the business, and only procured the restoration of the exiles to their homes and ancient privileges. It is probable that he perceived it to be too late a period of their national existence for them to be able to guard themselves. Demades, however, readily undertook the commission. The dignity and glory of their ancestors returned to the

ıe minds of the Athenians; and they l
nat he would at least procure them the
)lance of freedom.

Demades, as we have formerly seen, had
the creature and favourite of Philip and o
successors. He it was that drew up the d
of banishment against the patriotic and
terested Demosthenes. He was not des
of abilities or eloquence; but he wanted pr
and disinterestedness. Antipater said he
two friends at Athens:—Phocion who
never accept any reward for his services;
Demades, who never thought he received en
Whether the Macedonian governor had di
tinued his largeness, or Demades consi
them as not sufficiently liberal, we know
certain it is that he formed a correspon
with Perdiccas, whom he invited to assun
government of Greece and of Macedo
letter he had written to that commander
tercepted, in which were these words: "
and be the support of Macedon and
which at present lean on an old rotten
meaning Antipater. This discovery ha
place immediately before his setting ou
quest the recal of the Macedonian garri
son, therefore, who accompanied him,
to death in the sight of Demades, aft
he himself was immediately slain. T
the Greeks reduced to the necessity of
liberty with the servility of slaves, w
had hitherto demanded with the noble
of an independent people!

Antipater did not long survive the
mades; and his death happened soo
eturn from his Asiatic expedition.

gone excessive fatigue, in keeping the Greeks
ler the subjection of Macedon, and in adjusting
tters in Asia; which probably conspired to
elerate his end. Ever active, faithful, and
ılous, in the cause of his country, he suffered
ıself to enjoy but little repose. The differences
ich subsisted in Macedon, and the instruction
his countrymen in the arts of peace, had em-
yed his attention after his arrival. His body
l become enfeebled and emaciated, and the
ciety of his mind occasioned a violent and in-
erate disease. Amidst this complicated dis-
ss, he acted as became his descent, and the
:ellence of his understanding. Finding his
l approaching, he assembled his friends and
friends of his country, and gave them in-
uctions relative to the course of conduct,
ich it was equally their duty and their inter-
to pursue. It was necessary to appoint a go-
nor over Macedon, and a regent of the em-
e. He knew the importance of those stations;
l was sensible that his own glory and reputa-
n, the interest of the state, and the preserva-
n of the Macedonian empire, required a per-
to be nominated whose age, exp[illegible]d
mer services, would command a[illegible]
pect. Under these impressions, [illegible]
ıueathed to Polyperchon, the
exander's captains at that time i[illegible]
o high offices of protector and
ıcedon. Thus did Antipat[illegible]
est of his family to that
d full of years and of glo[illegible]
Cassander, who was in A[illegible]
ıer's death, apprehendi[illegible]
ıation this event had

he late administration in Macedon,
ed to attempt something for their
ſe revolved in his mind the character
erchon, who was equally destitute of
of resolution, and of probity: his ambi-
prompted him to attempt the recovery of
mmand, of which he had been deprived
will of his father; and he contrived a
l for procuring himself satisfaction. Un-
ne pretence of taking the diversion of
ng, he engaged several of his friends to
mpany him into the country. When they
e at some distance from court, he assembled
n together, and disclosed his mind. H
l them the only reason for bringing them
t place was that he might confer with the
matters of the greatest importance, and h
ne advantage of their opinions. He allu
ne said, to the recent change in the gov
ment, and to the probable consequences
were likely to flow from it. He then
tiated at some length on the dangers that t
ened them, from the junction of intere
tween Polyperchon and Olympias, a
who was the implacable enemy of An
friends, and whom the protector had
from her retirement in Epirus, and had
ed her to superintend the rearing of A
the son of Roxana. It is uncertain
Cassander communicated to his frien
time the whole of his project, and h
of supplanting the protector. His rea
however, produced the desired effec
avowed themselves his partisans, i
fidence he resolved to act indep
openly.

While Cassander was thus employed in forming projects for subverting the government, Polyperchon was busied in securing his dominion in Greece. He had held a council of state, in which it was determined that all the governors whom Antipater had appointed in the Grecian communities should be displaced, and that democracy should be every where re-established. An edict was therefore put forth, the introduction and conclusion of which abounded with protestations, that the sole interest of the court, by the measure enjoined, was to restore liberty to Greece.

This edict, notwithstanding the gracious purpose for which Polyperchon pretended to publish it, did not meet with unanimous approbation. The main object of it was to break the power of the late governors; but they were unwilling to submit to a decree which evidently tended to injure them. They hesitated for a while, and then applied to Cassander for relief. Athens being of more consequence to the Macedonians than any other Grecian state, the eyes of all men were turned on Nicanor, governor of that city. It was obvious that, had Nicanor immediately complied with the injunctions of the edict, most of the other cities and states in Greece would have followed his example: but he expressed a diffidence at first, relative to the authority of Polyperchon; and, after he had received letters from Olympias on the subject, he devised new schemes of procrastination, until he had sufficiently reinforced his garrison at Munichia. Instead, therefore, of quitting the fort, according to the decree, he unexpectedly seized on the Piræus.

The Athenians, intoxicated with the ideal liberty which they now enjoyed, and provoked at the conduct of Nicanor, determined to rid themselves of those who seemed to oppose the wishes of their deliverers For that purpose they turned their fury upon the patriotic Phocion, and some of the most distinguished citizens of Athens. These withdrew from the rage of the people; and threw themselves on the mercy of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, who was entering Attica with a powerful army; and by this time also the protector himself was at hand, with Philip Aridæus, and another large body of forces.

Alexander, having heard Phocion and the other fugitives relate their account of the matter, was convinced of their innocence, and of the injustice of the decree; and in consequence sent letters of recommendation with them to his father. They were accompanied by Dinarchus, a Corinthian, and an old and intimate friend of Polyperchon; but scarcely were they arrived at the camp of the regent when deputies came from Athens, accusing them of high treason. Polyperchon was at a loss for some time how he should act: his son had precipitately and imprudently pledged his faith to the exiles; but the interest of his cause would, he considered, be best promoted by complying with the wishes of the Athenians. Always unsteady in his sentiments and sanguine in his measures, Polyperchon no sooner conceived this idea than he gave orders that his old acquaintance Dinarchus should be first tortured, and then put to death; while Phocion and his companions were bound and sent back in carts to Athens, with this message,

sage, "That though he was convinced they had been traitors to their country, yet he left them to the judgment of the Athenians as a free people."

Phocion, perceiving by the clamour of the people that no defence was to be allowed them, exclaimed, "With regard to myself, I acknowledge the crime of which I am accused, and cheerfully submit to the sentence of the law. But consider, O Athenians! what have these men done, that they should be involved in the same punishment with me?" The people vehemently cried out "They are your accomplices, and that is sufficient for condemning them." The decree was then read: and Phocion, Nicocles, Aheudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles, were sentenced to suffer death; and Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles, and others, were condemned in their absence. Many persons proposed that Phocion should be tortured before being put to death; but the majority of the people considered that punishment as too severe. While the votes were collecting, many placed garlands on their heads, and demonstrated all the satisfaction that could have been felt had the most powerful public enemy suffered a defeat. An intimate friend took the opportunity of asking Phocion, as they were bearing him to execution, if he had any commands to his son. "Only," replied he, "that he forget the ill treatment which his father received from the Athenians."

The resentment of his enemies was not allayed by the death of Phocion: a decree was passed, by which his body was banished the Athenian territories, and any person that should furn-

furnish fire for his funeral pile was st
to a penalty. One Conopian took up the
and carried it beyond Eleusina, where
rowed fire of a Megarian woman, and
it. A matron of that state, who attende
occasion, raised a humble monument to
tuate the memory of the unfortunate
Having collected the ashes, she carrie
home, and buried them under her heart
ting up the following prayer to her h
Gods: "To you, O ye deities! guar
this place, do I commit the precious re
the most excellent Phocion. Protect
beseech you, from every insult; and
them one day to be deposited in the se
of his ancestors, when the Athenians sh
become wiser."

A short time only intervened bef
prayer of the pious matron was fulfille
Athenians, like all democracies, pass
one extreme to the other. They recolle
many services he had performed the sta
therefore decreed the victim of their
statue of brass; ordered his ashes to be
back at the public expence; and conden
accusers to be put to death. Agonid
was the principal person in promoting
against Phocion, was soon after accused

voured to conciliate the affections of the Ma-
ouians, and to engage them warmly in his
se: Antigonus, he was sensible, would be
dy to oppose any person that should possess
invidious office of protector of the kings;
l to him, therefore, he determined to make
plication for relief. It is to be numbered
ong the political errors of the new admi-
tration in Macedon that, after openly attack-
g the friends and dependents of Antipater,
d receiving Olympias into a participation of
e government, Cassander should be suffered to
thdraw into Asia, where his representations
d remonstrances might be productive of the
ost dangerous and baneful effects. Antigonus
ceived Cassander with the greatest affability
d kindness. He hated Polyperchon; and to
ecute vengeance on him he saw would be the
ortest and most sure road to the conquest of
sia, which was now become the great object
his ambition.

The forces which Cassander obtained of An-
gonus were not numerous; but, to a man of his
rtile and enterprising genius, any number of
oops proved of considerable importance, and
ere capable of achieving great exploits. When
had received reinforcements, he sailed for
thens; and, entering the Piræus with his small
et, was welcomed to Greece by Nicanor.
ith respect to the new government, his senti-
ents were congenial with those of Cassander:
had been appointed governor of Munichia
Antipater during his regency; he was the
st that dared openly and boldly to resist the
lict of Polyperchon; and on that account he

had been exposed to many and great dangers. None, therefore, appeared more likely to second the views and designs of his visitor with greater sincerity.

Polyperchon, being informed of the arrival of Cassander, instantly resolved to blockade his competitor in Athens, and to make a vigorous effort by sea and land, to terminate the war at once by the reduction of that city. For that purpose, therefore, he assembled a numerous army, and marched into Attica. That portion of Greece was never remarkable for the fertility of its lands; and the numerous forces, which Polyperchon had collected, soon caused a scarcity of provisions in the country. This circumstance induced the protector to alter the measures he had proposed, as he despaired of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. Leaving troops, therefore, under the command of his son Alexander, who had orders to observe the motions of the enemy and to keep them in awe, he marched with the rest of the army into Peloponnesus, where he knew his opponent had many favourers.

By this time Clytus had set sail with the fleet to meet that of Cassander, which was under the conduct of Nicanor. A battle was fought; in which this latter commander was defeated, and obliged to betake himself to flight. The fleet of Nicanor, however, being refitted, and reinforced by light-armed troops sent over in barks by Antigonus, he soon found himself again in a condition to face the enemy. Having, therefore, put to sea, he came up with the armament of Clytus while at anchor at Byzantium, and obtained

a complete victory. After the engage-
Clytus himself was killed by an insur-
of the soldiers of Lysimachus.

he mean time Polyperchon had entered
nnesus, and had once more recourse to
ict. He was determined that his com-
should be obeyed; and in case of refusal
eatened to inflict the most severe punish-

This decree was carried into execution
t of the Grecian communities; and dis-
slaughter, and confusion, every where
led. Those, who had borne any office un-
e administration of Antipater, were put
th, or driven into banishment. These ty-
al proceedings excited the just odium of
icerning part of the people. The Mega-
ans were the most considerable body of
hat had the prudence and address to avoid
nternal dissensions. The magistrates and
, having consulted on this affair, unani-
determined to retain their present form
ernment; and at the same time to remain,
ible, in tranquillity. This resolution was
ered by the protector as treasonable: he
ed that it was not only an open and avow-
ult on his authority, but a tacit acknow-
ent that the Megalopolitans were the co-
rs and abettors of Cassander's rebellion;
e therefore denounced exemplary punish-
against that people. The Megalopolitans
nderstood the meaning of the protector;
ey had taken their measures in time, and
counsels were not easily to be overturned.
withdrew their effects from the country,
ed their city, and, their number of fight-
en amounting to fifteen thousand, deter-
mi

mined to make a desperate resistance against the enemy.

Polyperchon made good his threats: he appeared before the city, accompanied by Philip Aridæus, the king, with a very considerable army and a number of elephants. His engineers were exceedingly active: before the besieged expected that they had begun to work, three towers, with all the wall between them, were undermined and fell to the ground. A breach being thus effected, Polyperchon led his army to the assault, which was vigorously supported on both sides; but the assailants were finally repulsed.

This check did not discourage Polyperchon from prosecuting his designs. He determined to renew the attack, and to avail himself of the use of his elephants. When this was reported to the Megalopolitans, they were greatly distressed at the idea of those terrible animals. They were, however, soon relieved from their uneasiness on that subject. It happened that a person named Damides was among them, who had served under Alexander in his eastern expedition; and this man undertook to render the elephants perfectly useless to the besiegers, and harmless to the besieged. The plan he made use of was this—he caused long pieces of planks to be driven into the ground, into each of which he fixed several iron spikes; and over the spikes he threw some rubbish, that the enemy might not perceive them: this was done all along the inside of the breach. The citizens were then drawn up, not in front, but in flank, between the city and these machines, and at each end of the breach.

The

The besiegers were now ready to make the ault. They advanced in excellent order with e elephants in front. These animals, forced their riders within the breach, stuck their t on the spikes, and were unable to proceed y farther. The citizens instantly perceived is, and galled them and their riders with nes, darts, and other missile weapons. This casioned a dreadful confusion. Many of the ikes had pierced the feet of the elephants so ep that they not only were incapable of adncing, but fell to the ground. Others were enraged by the pain they experienced, that ey became ungovernable, turned upon their n men, and trod them under foot. The Madonian army seeing this disaster, refused to oceed; and Polyperchon, leaving a considerle body of horse and foot to block up the Me-. lopolitans in their city, was compelled to re- e in disgrace. About the same time also news ually disagreeable and dishonourable was ought to the protector, relative to the total feat of the admiral Clytus. After such reated losses, he saw no prospect of acquiring y honour in Greece: the greatest part, there- e, of his army returned immediately to Madon.

While these transactions were performing in rope, Antigonus, who had been appointed the government of Phrygia the Greater, Lynia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, resolved to make nself master of all Asia. For that purpose collected an army of sixty thousand fo- nteen thousand horse, together wit phants. He made no secret of his in t avowed his designs, and removed a

vernors of provinces whom he suspected to be hostile to his measures. He endeavoured to gain the friendship of Eumenes; and sent an able and confidential person to treat with that general in the castle of Aora, and to assure him that, if he would become the friend and ally of Antigonus, he should have the most honourable situation in his court. Eumenes at first appeared to receive these overtures in a favourable manner; but, when they tendered to him an oath that, he would be faithful to the interests of Antigonus, he refused to make any such promise: Antigonus, therefore, became indignant at the conduct of Eumenes, and began to levy war against that general.

Polyperchon, finding himself distressed by the treachery and power of Antigonus and Cassander, not only allowed Olympias to take up her abode in Macedon but made her his chief confidante, and in a little time virtually committed to her care the government of the whole nation. She was a woman of a violent and revengeful temper of mind, but not destitute of discernment. The deep and often fatal intrigues, in which she had been concerned, had taught her a knowledge of mankind. That knowledge she exerted on the present occasion. Instead of nominating to the chief command in Asia one whose dissolute morals and licentious conduct promised fair to promote any arbitrary scheme which the court might propose, she appointed or advised Polyperchon to appoint Eumenes, who was the most loyal and steady friend of the court. Eumenes was therefore constituted commander in chief of the royal forces in Asia, and had

had a donation of five hundred talents awarded him for his recent services.

When Eumenes received the letters which conferred on him the supreme command in the east, he hastened to perform his duty, and to acquit himself with credit. But the rival with whom he had to contend was both active and enterprising. In the number of his soldiers, and also with regard to influence in the Asiatic provinces, Eumenes was greatly inferior to Antigonus. The former, therefore, was under the necessity of employing all the resources of his inventive genius: he did so, and he might have finally proved victorious had he not been betrayed by the perfidy of his friends. He considerably augmented his strength in a short time; and, by granting appointments and conferring honours, he gained the favour and friendship of the most powerful officers in the opposite interest. The Argyraspide, a body of hardy Macedonian veterans, who, on account of their merit and bravery, had been presented by Alexander the Great with silver shields, were at first extremely adverse to the appointment and the measures of Eumenes. They received him indeed with every mark of deference and respect: but Eumenes perceived that the civility of their conduct was only exterior, and that they had no real regard or esteem for him. On the contrary, he was sensible that they envied his authority; and therefore endeavoured to render their malice ineffectual, and to provide for his own safety and the prosperity of the empire. But his integrity and address soon attached these soldiers to his party.

The method which he took to prevent the ideas

ideas entertained by the superior officers on the point of precedency, and their mutual jealousy of being supplanted in their commander's favour, from disturbing the peace of the army, was as follows. He informed them that in a dream he had seen Alexander arrayed in regal pomp, seated on his throne, and giving orders to his generals as usual. He advised, therefore, that a tent of state should be erected, in which a throne of gold with all the insignia of royalty should be placed. Before this throne an altar of the same metal should be raised, on which each of the commanders were to offer sacrifice, and then seating themselves indiscriminately, consult the public safety. By this expedient he appeased dissensions among the powerful, and inspired the soldiers in general with enthusiastic bravery. But the device to which Eumenes was thus obliged to have recourse for quelling the factions that existed, demonstrated the dangerous and precarious ground on which the Macedonian commanders at that time stood.

Eumenes had not only to contend with Antigonus, but with many of the other governors of provinces, whom ambitious projects, and disaffection to the protectorship, rendered hostile to his measures. For about three years, however, that able and experienced general had evidently the advantage over all his adversaries, and his exertions held Asia in subjection to the Macedonian government.

While Eumenes was thus in the east vindicating by his arms the honour and interests of the kings, Cassander was gradually subverting their power in Europe. After Nicanor had defeated the armament under the command of Clytus, near

near Byzantium, he again resumed the government of Munichia. Cassander, sensible of the services which Nicanor had rendered to his cause, showed him the greatest attention and respect. They were upon the most friendly terms, when some person acquainted Cassander that the governor had a design to make himself sovereign of Attica. It happened also that Nicanor had reluctantly complied with admitting Cassander's troops into some of his forts; a circumstance which, being united with that report, awakened suspicion. In order to have Nicanor destroyed, Cassander posted some of his men in an uninhabited house, and requested the governor to meet him there, under pretence of consulting about matters of importance. Nicanor accordingly appeared; and when he entered the house, he was attacked and murdered by the assassins.

This sanguinary measure roused the indignation of Nicanor's friends; but when they considered that Cassander was already in possession of the greater part of the city, and that Polyperchon would not be able to grant them much assistance in case they attempted a revolution, they judged it most proper to stifle their resentment, and to submit quietly to their fate. The engaging manners of Cassander contributed not a little to reconcile the Athenians to his government. His condescension and generosity, however, bespoke the crafty and submissive politician, rather than the successful prince.

Among the first acts of his power, he appointed Demetrius Phalereus to be governor of Athens. This man was a person of quality, a descendant of Conon, and possessed of exte[illegible] prop[illegible]

property; but neither his birth nor his for
was equal to his virtues. He had studied u
the philosopher Theophrastus, and from
derived practical as well as theoretical k
ledge. He was himself at once a philoso
an orator, and a man of exemplary mo
Phocion and Demosthenes had been his teac
in virtue and eloquence. The knowledg
had gained, while a disciple of Theophra
enabled him to comprehend and encourag
pursuits of a literary and ingenious people;
his eloquence and upright conduct tende
check and controul the dissolute manners an
centiousness of the Athenians. Cicero
speaks very favourably of his oratory.

The moderation and mildness which he
played in his government procured him
esteem, and in some instances the affecti
the people. They were soon induced to re
the greatest confidence in his wisdom and
grity; and that confidence he did not be
The power which he might easily have
verted into tyranny, he employed in pro
ing the wealth and grandeur of the Athen
He increased their public revenues, adc
the city with many stately and magnif
structures, and restored such as were like
fall in consequence of decay. In every
respect also he exhibited such indispu
marks of affection and regard for the pe
over whom he presided, that they bestowe
him very considerable honours.

The losses and disgrace, which the arr
Polyperchon had recently suffered, made
protector sensible that he had no chance c
taining the sovereignty of Greece. He
obl

therefore, to content himself with the
ı of Macedon. Attica was beyond the
f his power; and the ill success, with
is attempts upon the city of the Megalo-
had been attended, had inspired all
with contempt of his authority. Under
cumstances, ambition would have been
d ridiculous; but he was destined to a
rer lot.

pias, as we have before seen, had been
ntly recalled by Polyperchon, to take
of the infant son of Roxana, and to sanc-
her presence the new administration of
n. Previously to her quitting Epirus,
written to Eumenes in Asia, desiring his
whether she should remain in her pre-
ıation, or return into Macedonia. Eu-
who always had the welfare of the state
his heart, informed her that he consider-
most prudent to remain in Epirus until
should be terminated. He advised her
e too precipitate in her resolutions; but
case she did return to Macedon, she
orget the injuries which had been for-
lone to her, and endeavour to conciliate
ctions and esteem of the people. The
of her story will prove how little she re-
this prudent and friendly admonition of
es.

et out from Epirus, and arrived in Mace-
y soon after. When her presence was
ced, great consternation and dismay
he minds of the people; and even those
ıd been in habits of friendship and in-
with the exiled queen dreaded the ef-
her resentment. The friends of Anti-

D d pater,

pater, however, by whose influence been banished Macedon, had still grea son to fear the consequences of her but, above all, Philip Aridæus and his Aridæus was the son of Philip by a co and on that account had from his infan subjected to the hatred and aversion of O The weakness of his intellect, and the of his constitution, were said to have be sioned by the destructive potions wh queen obliged him to take. Perdicc his regency with the murder of Cyn wife of Amyntas, and mother of A queen. This crime was perpetrated at stigation of Olympias. Alexander, pr his setting out on his eastern expedit also been advised by his mother to caus tas to be murdered that he might leav Macedon who during his absence shou at the sovereignty; and this nefarious was too faithfully followed.

It was not, therefore, to be supposed ther Philip, or Eurydice his wife, cc upon her with complacence. They, were sensible that they had every thin from her assuming any power; and I who had more discernment than her rightly conceived that Olympias wou be at rest until she had deprived Arida regal title and of his life. Under th she began to levy an army; and req who respected the brother of Alexan late royal master, or his queen, or wh the virtues and memory of Antipater in the defence of the rights and liberti country. She then wrote to Cassander,

ing him to hasten to her assistance; and required Polyperchon to meddle no more in the administration, but to deliver up all to Cassander, to whom the king had deemed it expedient to delegate the regency of the empire. The Macedonians readily armed themselves in defence of Eurydice and her husband; and in a short time the queen had collected a force more than sufficient to screen her husband and herself from any violence which might be offered to their persons.

These hasty proceedings of Eurydice gave her enemies sufficient pretext for levying an armed force to oppose her measures. Olympias, who was ever jealous and watchful, had carefully observed her recent actions, and perceived that it was necessary to be on her guard against her designs. Olympias had received from her brother a body of Epirots, to escort her from his kingdom. These she added to some Macedonian troops, whom her interest and power induced to follow her fortunes; and straight marched her forces to join the army of Polyperchon, which was returning from the unfortunate expedition into Peloponnesus. Having formed a junction, the whole united army moved to attack the troops of Eurydice; who, animated by the cruel treatment her family had received, boldly led forth her forces to oppose the enemy.

It was not the intention of Eurydice to hazard a battle before the arrival of Cassander: but her too precipitate conduct in raising forces had roused the apprehensions of her adversaries; and, their motions being thus quickened, it was impossible to defer fighting until Cassander should be able to march an army to the assistance

of the king and his illustrious consort. The contending parties therefore drew up their fc in order of battle; but the appearance of Ol pias at the head of her troops immediately minated the dispute. When the armies proached each other, the soldiers that sh have fought for Eurydice, struck with the a mien of Olympias, who appeared to posses the dignity and majesty of the widow of Pl and the mother of Alexander the Great, insta deserted their standard, and arranged themse under the banners of the enemy.

By this event Olympias, had she adheret the advice of Eumenes, might have settle things amicably and honourably; but her sions, which were strong and unrelenting, sv ed her with ungovernable fury. By the de tion of the troops, Philip and Eurydice fell her hands; and she immediately proceede inflict a severe and unmerited punishment or unhappy captives, who were soon after pu death.

Cassander, having received intelligenc these events, hastened into Macedonia. W he arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ, found the Thessalians in arms ready to opp his passage; but expedition being his main ject, he studied only how to avoid delay. lecting therefore all the ships which he c procure in the neighbourhood, he embarked troops, and transported them safely into T saly. They reached Macedon before Poly chon and Olympias were apprized of his proach. Cassander formed his army into divisions; one of which was under the comm of Callas, and he himself took the lead of

ot

r. Callas had orders to engage the troops Polyperchon, who was now separated from e of Olympias; while Cassander pursued army of that vindictive woman. Notwithding all the cruelties of which she had been ty, she still confided in the affection of the cedonians: she had formerly triumphed by majesty of her appearance, and she hoped o it again, when she had proved to them the gers and the hardships she was willing to ergo in order to guard and strengthen the inistration of her country. She had many owers, but they resembled a court rather n an army. She went to the principal ci-, in company with her daughter Roxana, her ndson Alexander, her niece Deidamia, Thesnica the sister of Alexander, and many other sons of high birth and interest. With this nerous retinue, she was at length under the essity of retiring to Pydna, a sea port and ll fortified town.

Cassander immediately invested the city by d, while his fleet blocked up the entrance of harbour. The besieged soon began to be in nt of provisions; but encouraged by the prece of many persons of distinction, they obstiely defended the place. Olympias also exted that her brother Æacidas would send sucrs from Epirus to her assistance; which provto be the case. Cassander, therefore, know-; that the army of that prince was in motion, ached part of his troops to block up the pas-es into Epirus. This was done so completely t the army of Æacidas was reduced to great ficulties; and not only despaired of the sucs of the expedition, but of their own safety.

ing and his illustrious consort. The two
ing parties therefore drew up their forces
of battle; but the appearance of Olym-
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nd Olympias were apprized of his ap-
. Cassander formed his army into two
s; one of which was under the command
as, and he himself took the lead of the
other.

Under these circumstances the troops mutinied, and, deposing Æacidas, submitted to Cassander. The only person on whom Olympias now relied for relief was Polyperchon; but the detachment under Callas employed his attention so much that he was unable to afford her any assistance. Callas had been at pains to represent to the army of Polyperchon the cruelties and enormities of which the administration had been guilty; and he had thereby so effectually alienated the minds of the soldiers that Polyperchon was scarcely able to defend himself.

The condition of the besieged was now become truly deplorable. The royal family fed on the flesh of horses, the soldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on saw dust. Numbers were induced, by the miseries which prevailed in the city, to desert to Cassander, who received with lenity all that had not been concerned in the late murders. Olympias again turned her thoughts toward Polyperchon. She wrote him a letter, requesting that he would send a bark of fifty oars to convey her away by night. Cassander, however, having seized the messenger, disappointed the design. Olympias, not finding the vessel at the time she expected, gave up all hopes; and, without waiting any longer, surrendered herself and her army to Cassander. This event determined the ill fate of all Macedon. Pella, the capital, soon after submitted to the conqueror. Aristonus, who then commanded a body of troops at Amphipolis, at the request of Olympias, yielded that city to Cassander.

When Olympias submitted to Cassander, she stipulated for her life; but the kindred of those whose deaths she had occasioned insisted that she

she should suffer. She was therefore accused before the assembly of Macedon, and without being heard in her defence condemned to die. Cassander advised her to escape to Athens, and offered her a ship for that purpose; but she refused to fly, and declared that she was ready to answer before the Macedonian people for whatever she had done. Cassander, however, was unwilling to abide the issue of such a trial as she demanded. He therefore sent a band of soldiers to put her to death. When these men came into the prison, they were struck with awe, and refused to execute the orders they had received; but the relations of those who had fallen sacrifices to her cruelty seized her, and cut her throat.

Immediately after the death of Olympias, Roxana and her son Alexander were sent to Amphipolis, where they were made prisoners; and orders were given that they should be treated only as private persons. Hercules the son of Alexander by Barsine, the only remaining branch of the royal family, was murdered by Polyperchon, at the instigation of Cassander, about two years afterward. Eight years had not elapsed since the death of Alexander, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of that empire which he and his father had acquired at the expence of so much blood, danger, and treachery. Such, to the royal family of Macedon, were the effects of that ambition, which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

While Cassander was settling the affa[illegible] Macedon, Polyperchon, and his son Ale[illegible] were intriguing with the enemies of An[illegible]

family in Greece, and sowing the seeds of dissension in that country. It was nec that Cassander should endeavour to cons interests of Greece, as well as of Macedon therefore determined to march an arm that country, and expel his enemies from t He directed his course into Thessaly; but the Pylæ shut by the Ætolians, his avow inveterate enemies. Having, however, the pass, he descended into Bœotia, an ceeded to the ruins of Thebes. The si these ruins, it is natural to imagine, woul birth to a variety of reflections; it wo mind him of the ancient power and splen that city; and of the renown and fate man, and his family, by whom it h razed. These thoughts led him to th of rebuilding the city, and of recallin scribed inhabitants, who were scattered out every part of Greece. In this un he requested the assistance of the re Bœotians; and the walls were soon fin the principal streets rebuilt. The Th sent to recal all their exiled country their city, which had been razed by Ionians above twenty years before,

people

which had taken place during several campaigns, he determined to make one desperate and decisive effort. He resolved to attack Eumenes in his winter quarters, when his troops were dispersed all over the country. The battle was fought near the sea; and Eumenes, having the superiority in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of Antigonus; but his cavalry were worsted, through the treachery of Paucestus, their commander, who had secretly gone over to the interests of Antigonus. By this instance of perfidy, therefore, the infantry was left to combat alone. Antigonus, perceiving that the engagement had raised a cloud of dust, wheeled round the army of Eumenes, and possessed himself of the baggage. This contrivance was of more advantage to him than a victory could have been; for the soldiers of Eumenes returning into their camp, and being informed of the loss of their baggage, women and children, became mutinous. B. C. 315.

In this situation of that general's army, Teutamus, who commanded a battalion of the troops called the Silver-shields, and who had long inclined to Antigonus, took this opportunity of sending to the hostile camp, and demanded the booty which had been thus taken. Antigonus replied that he would willingly restore the troops their baggage and all their property, provided they would deliver up Eumenes, who was not a Macedonian by birth, and who had been declared a public enemy. The greater part of the army agreed to the proposal of Antigonus; and among the first were the Argyraspidæ, or Silver-shields. Eumenes was seize[d] and his hands bound behind him, in which c[ondi]

dition the troops prepared to deliver him into the hands of Antigonus. He was conducted to the camp of his rival, who kept him a few days in confinement, and then commanded him to be executed.

The late signal success of Antigonus opened a wide field for his ambition; and he again formed the design of making himself master of all Asia. Many of the commanders who lately opposed him, hastened, after the event of this battle, to make their submission, and to proffer their aid and support in his undertaking. He readily accepted their acknowledgments of his superiority, but was backward in assuring them of his protection. In truth it was not his interest, and therefore not his design, to protect them. The theatre on which he then appeared, extensive as it was, appeared too limited and exhibited too many actors for any one of them to become illustrious. On this account he sacrificed several of the inferior governors to his ambition; and had not Seleucus still stood in the way, it is probable that his resentment and suspicions would have been thus completely allayed.

Seleucus had been appointed by Antipater governor of Babylon. He was an able and enterprising commander; and had performed many signal services to Antigonus, who, nevertheless, demanded an account of the revenues of his province, by this measure plainly implying that he considered him as a dependent. Seleucus was astonished at this application, and answered that he did not consider he was any more obliged to give an account than Antigonus had to require it; since the province of Babylon was conferred on him by the Macedonians as the reward of his services.

services. Antigonus persisted in his demand, and even began to threaten. Seleucus, therefore, considering the great power of his enemy, and the little prospect there was of being able to resist him, with the privacy and assistance of some of his officers, got together a body of fifty horse, and quitting Babylon in the night, fled into Egypt.

To secure themselves in their possessions, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, now entered into a confederacy, engaging to maintain the rights of each other. Antigonus being informed of this agreement, determined to proceed immediately to hostilities; and to obtain, if possible, the provinces of Syria and Phœnicia, which were at that time in the possession of Ptolemy. He accordingly marched an army with the greatest expedition; and before the enemy were aware of his designs, most of those provinces had submitted to him. Finding that he could not carry on a war against so many great and powerful princes with any prospect of success, unless he could procure a fleet which might co-operate with his land forces, he ordered vast quantities of wood to be cut down on mount Libanus, and in other parts of his dominions; and thus before the end of the year he was ready to put to sea with five hundred sail. His first naval expedition was directed against Tyre; which, after a siege of four months, opened its gates to him.

While he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Cassander had led his forces toward the coasts of Asia Minor, and had made himself master of several provinces. On receiving information of this event, Antigonus marched an army to that quarter

quarter, and in a short time encamped in neighbourhood of that general; who, howe sensible of the inferiority of his troops in p of numbers, avoided an engagement.

During the time of the expedition of Anti nus into Asia Minor, Ptolemy entered S with a numerous army; but he had advance farther than Gaza when Demetrius, who been left to command the troops in those p during the absence of his father, offered battle. Ptolemy did not decline the challen but attacked and defeated the army of his versary. Demetrius, finding it impossible resist the victorious forces, now abando Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria; and Ptole flushed with his success, dispatched Cilles, on his generals, with a very considerable army, to pel him from Upper Syria also, where he still tinued with the remains of his forces. Demet however, informed of this circumstance, de mined to fall unawares upon the army of Cil and he executed his design with such celerity he totally routed the enemy, and took se thousand prisoners, in the number of whom Cilles himself. When Antigonus, who wa that time in Phrygia, received intelligenc this disaster, he joined his troops to those of son; and obliging Ptolemy to retire into Eg the provinces of Syria, Phœnicia, and Ju again became subject to their former master

The defeat of Demetrius, at Gaza, ena Ptolemy to assist Seleucus in his pretension Babylon. He accordingly sent a small bod troops to the aid of that general; who with reinforcement marched to attempt the reco of his kingdom. His whole army did not am

to more than thirteen hundred men; and he had to conduct them through that extensive territory which lies between Phœnicia and Babylon, many districts of which were in the interest of Antigonus: but he accomplished his purpose, and was restored to a command to which his abilities and virtues justly entitled him. The attachment of his people, together with the vigour of his own mind, secured to him the province of Babylon and some neighbouring states.

Antigonus and Demetrius had now become the enemies of the whole Macedonian government. In Europe its subjects dreaded the dismemberment of their empire; and in Asia and Africa they expected a sovereign that should be arbitrary and despotic. All became alarmed, and were ready to listen to any proposals which might seem to afford them relief. A general confederacy was, therefore, formed against Antigonus and Demetrius; but the activity and resources of these commanders appeared inexhaustible. In Greece the Ætolians and Epirots, excited and supported by them, had taken the field against Cassander. Ptolemy had carried his arms into Asia Minor, and sent his fleets to reduce the Ægean islands that favoured Antigonus; whose attention was thus compelled to both these objects, while at the same time Lysimachus and Cassander were attacking the provinces on the banks of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. Hither also it was necessary for Antigonus and Demetrius to send forces: in short, they were beset with foes on every hand; but they nevertheless maintained their cause with astonishing vigour and success.

ferius, the Governor, was expelled. The
act of the new administration was to restor
democracy; the destructive effects of v
were immediately felt. Demetrius next
to Rhodes, and formed the siege of that is
Cassander, in the mean time, endeavour
regain possession of Athens; but Demetri
turning compelled him to raise the seige
in a very short time stripped him of all his
quests. The result of this triumph was the
mission of the greater part of Greece to the
of Demetrius, and he was appointed comm
in chief of the Grecian forces. All the
from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthm
Corinth yielded to his power; and likewis
ny cities in Peloponnesus.

Cassander, fearing lest Demetrius should
sue him into Macedon, sent deputies to An
nus in Syria, to conclude a treaty of peace
Antigonus required the unconditional su
sion of Cassander, and the renunciation

thus hastened into Asia; and before winter arrived in Phrygia. He offered terms of accommodation to Antigonus; but that prince was too confident of success to listen to his proposals.

When the season of the year permitted, Demetrius transported his forces out of Greece into Asia, and joined the troops of his father. Soon after, the two grand armies in Phrygia were ready for an engagement. B. C. 301. The forces of Antigonus amounted to seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants: those of the confederates to sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots of war. Both armies were peculiarly anxious about the event of a battle, by which the fate of kingdoms was to be decided. Antigonus, who had never before been seen to shrink from danger, betrayed evident marks of fear on this occasion. In coming out of his tent on the morning of the battle, he stumbled and fell; which he superstitiously considered as an omen that his army would be defeated. This memorable and eventful engagement was fought near to Ipsus, a small town in the province of Phrygia. The troops on both sides fought with bravery; and victory was long and ably contested. At length, however, the brave Antigonus lost his life; the Syrians were completely defeated; and Demetrius, with much difficulty, effected his escape at the head of nine thousand men. In consequence of this victory, the whole empire of Alexander was divided as follows: Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, and Palestine, were assigned to Ptolemy; Macedonia and Greece to Cassander;

hynia and Thrace to Lysimachus; and the maining territories in Asia, as far as the river dus, which were called the kingdom of Syria, ere given to Seleucus.

CHAP. XXI.

Affairs of Greece and Macedon, from the Battle of Ipsus to the time when those Countries became Provinces of Rome.

CASSANDER experienced, in his exalted station, all the inquietudes of sovereign power; and was encompassed by crafty and powerful enemies. He died, however, in the peaceable possession of the throne of Macedon, to which the greatest part of Greece was now annexed. After his death, his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, laid claim to the kingdom. Alexander invited Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and Demetrius the son of Antigonus, to his assistance. Demetrius treacherously assassinated the young prince at an entertainment; and on his justifying this deed in a formal harangue, the Macedonians immediately saluted him king. Instead of repairing the devastations that his kingdom had suffered from constant wars, Demetrius immediately engaged in new military enterprizes against Greece, Ætolia, Epirus, and Thrace. He abandoned himself at the same time to luxury, vanity, and extreme haughtiness.

B. C. 298.

B. C. 294.

In consequence of these provocations, Pyrrhus, king

king of Epirus, invaded the Macedonian territories with a numerous and powerful army; Lysimachus poured his troops into the same country, on the side of Thrace; and Ptolemy attacked with a fleet the dominions of Demetrius in Greece. The usurper was thus obliged to abandon his kingdom; and though he made several attempts to regain possession of it, he was unsuccessful. Pyrrhus assumed the sovereignty of Macedon; but was in a little time expelled the kingdom by Lysimachus, who had acted in concert with him in the revolution of that country. Dissensions, however, arose in the family of Lysimachus, between his different queens and their offspring; that terminated (as is generally the case in despotic governments) in an act of assassination, which led the injured faction to request the assistance of Seleucus. This prince, who, though seventy-seven years of age, had still the activity and vigour of youth, willingly listened to the invitations of the enemies of Lysimachus, in the hope of being eventually able to annex the kingdom of Macedon and the states of Greece to the dominions he already possessed. He therefore met Lysimachus on a plain, on the borders of Phrygia, called the Field of Cyrus. Lysimachus was in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The opposing commanders were the only surviving generals of Alexander; and both fought with great bravery. The army of Lysimachus was defeated, and he himself was slain. B. C. 285.

Animated by a warm desire of taking possession of Macedon, Seleucus passed the Hellespont, and advanced with an army as far as Lysimachia in Thrace. In the neighbourhood of that

that city, however, he was basely murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had generously relieved, and for whose sake he had commenced the war.

Ptolemy, after performing this execrable deed, put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of Macedon. Not long after, a body of three hundred thousand Gauls leaving their country in quest of new settlements, followed the course of the Danube for a considerable way, and then divided into three parties, one of which made an irruption into the Macedonian kingdom. An obstinate and bloody engagement ensued: in which Ptolemy was taken prisoner, and put to death. Sosthenes, with the remains of the Macedonian troops, attacked and defeated the Gauls; but a fresh swarm of these barbarians, under the command of Brennus, attacked and totally destroyed the army of Sosthenes.

B. C. 280.

These invaders, having ravaged the whole country of Macedon, bent their course towards Greece. The Grecian states, animated by a sense of their extreme danger, collected their troops, and secured the straits of Thermopylæ. The Athenians, under the command of Galippus, headed this enterprise; and at the same time sent their fleets to the coast of Thessaly, to co-operate with the forces by land. The barbarians, after several fruitless attempts to force the pass, were obliged to desist. Brennus then dispersed some of his troops over Ætolia, to plunder that country, hoping by this stratagem to draw off the enemy from guarding the straits: still, however, he was unable to force a passage; and the detachment of his troops which had been sent

sent into Ætolia, exciting universal detestation by their rapacity and cruelty, were many of them cut off.

But the Thessalians induced by the selfish motive of freeing their own country from those burthensome strangers, at length directed Brennus to the path over mount Œta, by which the troops of Xerxes had entered Greece. He immediately proceeded to the temple at Delphos, with the design of plundering the sacred shrine of its accumulated treasures. The Delphians, however, inspired by a religious enthusiasm, made a vigorous sally, and defeated the enemy with great loss: the pursuit was continued for a whole day and night; and a violent storm and piercing cold co-operating with the efforts of the victors, most of the barbarians perished. Brennus was wounded, and in a frenzy of despair killed himself. Those who survived, having assembled together, endeavoured to make good a retreat; but the several nations rising against them in their progress, not one of the multitude which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, returned to his native land.

After the death of Sosthenes, and the evacuation of Macedon by the Gauls, Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius, assumed the sovereignty. The barbarians threatened another irruption into his newly-acquired kingdom, and sent deputies to know whether he was inclined to purchase a peace, Antigonus entertained the deputies with great splendour; and shewing them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them he was not disposed to give that away which ought to be employed in protecting and defending his subjects. B. C. 278.

jects. The Gauls, however, allured by the report of these riches marched into the territories of Macedon, and plundered the camp of Antigonus, who had purposely abandoned it with this view: he then attacked the invaders, encumbered with their booty, and defeated them with great slaughter.

But before the Macedonian king could restore his country to its ancient lustre, he was obliged to contend with an adversary more powerful than the Gauls. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, indignant at the conduct of Antigonus in having refused to grant some succours, which he requested, invaded the frontiers of Macedon, and was joined by some of the soldiers of Antigonus, who deserted the standard of their monarch. An engagement ensued; in which the forces of Antigonus were defeated, and most of them cut off, and he himself was under the necessity of quitting his kingdom. Returning again, however, after the departure of Pyrrhus, who had left his son Ptolemy in charge of the whole of his conquest, he suffered a second defeat, and escaped with only seventeen attendants.

While these transactions took place in Macedonia, Cleonymus endeavoured to possess himself of the throne of Sparta, after the death of Eudamidas, to the exclusion of Arcus the legitimate successor. The people, however, inclining to favour the latter, Cleonymus applied for redress to Pyrrhus; who marched an army into the Lacedœmonian territory, composed of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. Arcus was at this time absent in the island of Crete with the flower of the

the Lacedœmonian army. After an obstinate assault upon the city, which was as obstinately resisted, and which was carried on for three days successively, Pyrrhus was compelled to retire toward his own dominions. Antigonus and Arcus, who had arrived at Sparta to succour the place, harassed his rear in the retreat. Pyrrhus ordered his son Ptolemy to his assistance; but the young prince, exposing himself too much, was slain. The king of Epirus directed his course to Argos; but Arcus followed him to that city with a thousand infantry, and while the Argives engaged the army Pyrrhus in front, the Spartans attacked them in the rear. By these means, the Epirots suffered very considerably; and Pyrrhus lost his life in the course of the hostilities. With regard to the character of this monarch, it will be sufficient to observe that Hannibal pronounced him the greatest general the world had ever beheld, and superior even to Scipio.

After the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus resumed the sovereignty of Macedon. As he had, besides, very extensive possessions in the heart of Peloponnesus, the neighbouring states became jealous of his power, and formed a confederacy against him. The Gauls also threatened another irruption into his territories. Antigonus, however, engaged the barbarians in a general battle, and cut them off to a man. After this victory, he meditated nothing less than the reduction of all Greece. He marched an army to Athens; and notwithstanding that city was powerfully supported by troops from Sparta and Egypt, he compelled it to receive a Macedonian garrison. In the midst of his success, however, he was re-

call

called to the defence of his kingdom against Alexander, the young king of Epirus, who had entered Macedon, and committed great depredations: but ambition still led him to pursue new conquests. After employing much time in the attempt, he at length made himself master of the city of Corinth; which was again surprised and taken from him. He died at the age of above eighty years, and after a reign (altogether) of thirty-four.

B. C. 243. Demetrius succeeded his father Antigonus on the throne. The principal transactions of his reign were intended to maintain an interest in the Grecian states, not by possessing the dominion himself, but by supporting the several tyrants who had usurped it. Demetrius reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his kinsman Antigonus.

About this time the republic of Achaia, which had been formerly little known, began to make a very conspicuous figure, and seemed to aim at nothing less than the sovereignty of all Greece. This state was of high antiquity, and consisted of twelve towns. The republic of Ætolia was at this period second in power to that of Achaia, and formed on the same plan.

In consequence of the influx of wealth, Lacedæmon had now exchanged poverty and hardy discipline for opulence and voluptuousness. Agis, the Spartan king, endeavoured to restore the ancient simplicity, to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands. The people generally favoured his designs: but the few, in whose hands the wealth of Sparta centered, opposed them; and Agis was at length put to death, on pretence

pretence of attempting a revolution in the government.

In such a situation of affairs, Cleomenes mounted the Spartan throne; a prince who possessed an ardent passion for glory, united with great temperance and simplicity of manners. In the beginning of his reign he was under the necessity of exerting himself to support the tottering power of the state. Domestic distress, with its concomitant evils, had caused an almost universal languor, despondency, and depopulation, throughout Laconia. Such was the miserable decay of both public and private virtue, when Cleomenes, actuated no less by his natural disposition than by the representations of the Ætolians, proceeded to an open rupture with the Achæan states.

B. C. 242.

The Spartan king attacked and took Tegea, Mantinæa, and Orchomenes, cities in Arcadia. He then marched his army against a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded the entrance of Laconia on that side. Immediately after these acts of hostility, the states of Achaia declared war against Sparta. Cleomenes took the field with his troops, which were not numerous, but were inspired with the greatest ardour for military enterprizes. The Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand infantry and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristemachus. Cleomenes, with not more than five thousand troops, offered battle to the enemy. Aratus however, who bore the title of general of the Achæan states, would not permit the military commander to hazard an engagement. In consequence therefore of the retreat of the Achæans, Aratus suffered the reproaches

clared against that [illegible]
ward defeated the Achæans in a seve[illegible]
ter: but Aratus taking advantage even o
treat, turned his arms immediately again
tinæa; and before the enemy were awar
designs made himself master of that city,
he garrisoned with a body of troops.

The Achæans, attempting to chastise
fection of the Eleans, were again routed b
menes; and in the next campaign were
overthrown near Luctra. After finishi
campaigns, the Spartan king returned t
minions with the mercenary troops onl
sent forward a small detachment of for
surprised the ephori, and killed four
immediately; and the fifth was only s
feigning himself dead. Cleomenes en
ed to justify this sanguinary measure t
ple by arraigning the unconstitutional
ment of this order of magistrates, an
reciting many of their iniquitous pr
during his absence.

Cleomenes then advanced with his
[illegible] of Megalopolis and

them all to the sword, and then placed themselves under the protection of the Spartans. Most of the other cities in Peloponnesus followed his example. The Achæans were extremely dejected at these losses, and became apprehensive of the greatest calamities from Sparta. In this extremity they sued for peace from Cleomenes; but Aratus, who had lately declined the office of general of the Achæan states, again resumed his authority in public affairs, and used all his efforts to dissuade the Achæans from coming to any terms with their enemies.

The interruption of the negociation for peace raised a general ferment throughout Peloponnesus. The conduct of Aratus fired the martial and ambitious mind of Cleomenes. Most of the Achæan states began to revolt, and separate from the confederacy; because the people had hoped for a division of the lands and a discharge of their debts, and also grew weary of the power of Aratus.

Cleomenes would gladly have engaged the friendship of Aratus, but that politician was immovable in his designs of destroying the Spartan authority. As he found, however, that his countrymen could not effect this of themselves, he entertained the project of calling in the assistance of Antigonus, king of Macedon, to accomplish his intentions; a measure held in almost universal odium by the Greeks. Aratus, however, contrived to surmount this difficulty by artifice; and Antigonus with great pleasure embraced the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Greece. A treaty was agreed on by Aratus and Antigonus; the conditions of which made it evident that the in- B. C. 227.

dependence of Achaia was no more, and that Antigonus was the real sovereign of that country.

This transaction roused the indignation of the Peleponnesians, who now looked to Cleomenes as the only protector of their liberties. In the mean time Antigonus began his march toward Peloponnesus, at the head of twenty thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse; and, arriving at the isthmus, encamped opposite to Cleomenes, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between Corinth and the Onian hills. Antigonus, not thinking it adviseable or even practicable, to force a passage, was preparing to decamp and transport his troops by sea to Sicyon. But, the Argives having revolted from the Spartans and joined the enemy, Cleomenes was apprehensive that the Achæans would attack him in the rear while the Macedonians assaulted his front; and therefore he retired with precipitation, first to Argos and then to Mantinæa.

The Achæans now resumed their superiority in Peloponnesus; and Corinth, Tegæa, Mantinæa, Horea, and Telphassa, with many other places, immediately submitted to the combined arms of Macedon and Achaia. Antigonus having sent his troops home for winter quarters, Cleomenes attacked and took the city of Megalopolis, which he gave up to be plundered by his soldiers. He also laid waste the Argian territories. Antigonus was at that time in Argos with a few mercenary troops; but though the enemy insulted him he could not be prevailed on to engage Cleomenes. The Argives pressed him to take the field and protect his friends, or to resign

[illegible] the [illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] them [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] the beginning of the summer, [illegible]
[illegible] of recovering the reputation
[illegible] among the Achæans, he advanced
[illegible] with an army of twenty-[illegible]
[illegible] and twelve hundred men. Cleomenes
[illegible] hastened all the passes and avenues
[illegible] that country with troops, and [illegible]
[illegible] of troops to defend them. He
[illegible] himself with a body of twenty thousand
[illegible]; and encamped at a pass called Sellasia,
[illegible] by two hills, the Eva and Olympus
[illegible] drawn up an entrenchment at the foot
[illegible] high and steep mountains, he posted the
[illegible] on the entrance of Eva, under the
[illegible] of his brother Eucleidas; while he him
[illegible] with the rest of the army, took possession
[illegible]. Between these two hills ran the river
[illegible], along the banks of which the road
[illegible] entered.

When Antigonus arrived, and viewed the
[illegible] of the ground with the fortifications
[illegible] of defence adopted by the enemy, he
[illegible] that no part could be attacked with
probability of success. He therefore encamped at a small distance, on the banks of the Genusus, which covered part of his army. Cleomenes, reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, was under the necessity of leaving open his entrenchments, and of engaging the enemy without further delay. The battle remained for a long time doubtful; but at length Cleomenes, receiving intelligence that the forces under his bro- B. C. 223.

ther were defeated upon the hill, and that his cavalry began to give way on the plain, sounded a retreat. The overthrow then became general; great numbers of the Lacedæmonians were cut in pieces, and those who found means to escape fled from the field of battle in the greatest confusion Cleomenes, with a few horse, retreated to Sparta, and from thence fled to Egypt, where, not being being able to brook the indignities offered him by the ministers of Ptolemy Philopater, he suffered an honourable but untimely death. In Cleomenes ended the Herculean race of Spartan kings, if we except the short reign of Agasipolis.

While Antigonus was absent in Greece, the Illyrians entered Macedon with a powerful army. Being, therefore, recalled to the defence of his kingdom, he advanced with his troops against the invaders, whom he attacked and defeated. In straining his voice, however, during the engagement, he burst a blood-vessel; which occasioned his death in a few days, to the regret of all Greece.

Antigonus the Second was succeeded by Philip the son of Demetrius, the last of the Macedonian kings of that name. At the time of his accession to the throne this prince was only in the seventeenth year of his age: he was intelligent, affable, munificent, and attentive to the duties of his station.

B. C. 221.

The jealousy, which the Ætolians had long entertained of the Achæan states, was now increased by the importance which the latter had assumed from their alliance with Macedon. Immediately after Antigonus was dead, they ravaged the Achæan coast, and committed great depredations

depredations on all the neighbouring countries. Aratus attacked them with a very inferior force, and was totally defeated. The Achæans were, therefore, under the necessity of again applying to Macedon to request the assistance of the new monarch. Philip promised that he would aid them with the whole strength of his kingdom; and accordingly soon after set out for Greece, and arrived at Corinth.

Complaints being made against the Ætolians by almost every city in Peloponnesus, war was unanimously declared by Philip and the confederates. In the mean time the Ætolians, having made a fresh irruption into Peloponnesus, assaulted and took Cynætha, a city of Arcadia, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the place in ruins. This conduct of the Ætolians increased the general indignation of the Peloponnesians against that people, and gave birth to a new social war.

The Ætolians, being now joined by the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, attacked the Achæan states on all sides, and gained very considerable advantage. Philip marched an army into Epirus, and laid siege to Ambracia, a city garrisoned by the Ætolians, of which he made himself master in forty days. While he was employed before this place, a numerous army of Ætolians entered Macedon; and ravaging the country without opposition, returned home laden with plunder. After the surrender of Ambracia, Philip entered Ætolia; and would have soon reduced the whole country, had he not been recalled home to repress the incursions of the Dardanians.

In the mean time the Ætolians, under the

command of Dorimachus, marched into Upper Epirus, laid waste all that territory, and burned the temple of Dodona to the ground. Philip having notice of these transactions hastened to Corinth, where a party of his forces were stationed. While the king proceeded to Caphya, he met with a detachment of Eleans, who were advancing to plunder the territory of Sicyon. These he attacked and cut off. He then reduced Psophis, a strong-hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had taken possession; and soon after entered and laid waste the country of the Eleans, the finest province of Greece with respect to cultivation, and rich in every kind of rural wealth. Philip then brought under subjection the Trymphalians, a people that inhabited a district of Peloponnesus to the south of Elis; and wrested the Messenians from the dominion of Ætolia.

In the midst of these important services the king began to manifest some latent seeds of ambition. Apelles, a minister appointed by Antigonus, endeavoured by secret practices to reduce the Achæans to slavery; but Aratus complaining to the king of the conduct of Apelles, the pride and power of that minister were immediately repressed. In a short time, however, Philip espoused the part of Eparatus; who had been elected general of the Achæan states in opposition to Aratus. To counterbalance this unpopular measure, and strengthen himself in the affections of the citizens of Achaia, the Macedonian monarch laid siege to Teichos; which he took and restored to the Achæans, its original masters. He also made an inroad into Elis; and, ravaging the whole country, presented the spoils

to

to the Dymeans, and the cities in that neighbourhood. He imagined that the wealth and vigour of the Achæans would be entirely at his disposal; but the new general had provided no magazines, and the treasury was exhausted. Thus disappointed, he affected to place great confidence in Aratus by whose advice he marched from Corinth with a body of horse, intending to invade the Lacedæmonian territories by surprize; and, after proceeding four days through a desert country, he gained the tops of those hills which command the city of Sparta. The Lacedæmonians were greatly alarmed when they perceived the young monarch in their country, and approaching the gates of their metropolis. Philip laid waste many parts of the enemy's territory, took and destroyed several towns, defeated a Lacedæmonian army under the command of Lycurgus, and returned to Corinth with an immense booty.

Philip, elated by his long course of prosperity, now began to meditate the reduction of all Greece, and determined to effect a junction with Hannibal against the Romans; the Carthaginian general having lately obtained a great victory over that people, near the lake Thrasymene, in Tuscany. He, therefore, sent commissioners to treat with Hannibal, and with the Carthaginian deputies in the camp. The persons, however, whom he appointed to this office, were seized by the Romans soon after their landing in Italy; but as they asserted that they were going to Rome, they were permitted to proceed on their journey. After their arrival at the camp of Hanibal, it was agreed that the king of Macedon

don and the republic of Carthage should consider the Romans as common enemies; and that, after uniting their arms and reducing the power of the Roman people, they should pursue their conquests in Greece, for the purpose of extending the dominions of Macedon.

In vain did Aratus dissuade Philip from this project. He entered the Ionian gulf with a large fleet; took Oricum, on the coast of Epirus, and laid siege to Apollonia. Here, however, he was surprised and defeated by the Romans: and retreated homeward across the mountains.

The Romans, greatly humbled by the victorious arms of Hannibal, were not in a condition, at that time, to prosecute a war with Macedon; but they determined if possible, to raise up enemies against Philip in Greece. Accordingly, overtures for that purpose were made to the Ætolians; who, confiding in the flattering declarations of the Roman ambassador, not only concluded a treaty themselves but engaged Sparta and Elis, together with the Illyrians, in the cause of Rome. Hostilities immediately commenced; and the Romans having taken Zacynthus, Æniadæ, and Nasus, restored those places to the Ætolians. Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, invaded the territories of the Achæans; who sent a deputation to Philip, to request his assistance. Philip lost no time in marching into Greece to defend the possessions of his allies; and the Ætolians, under Pyrrhus, who was appointed commander that year in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him, as far as Lamia. A battle ensued, in which the Ætolians and their

B. C. 211.

heir allies were defeated; and another engagement soon after took place, in which also Philip gained a decisive victory.

The Macedonian king now marched against Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. After plundering the territory, he was attacked by the confederate army, among whom were four thousand Romans commanded by the proconsul Sulpitius. The battle was long, and was obstinately fought. Here Philopœmen, who led the Achæan horse, struck dead with his lance the commander of the Ætolian cavalry. Philip, seeing his army give way, rushed headlong among the enemies, and was with the greatest difficulty saved by his soldiers. After having desolated the whole territory, the monarch was obliged to return to his own kingdom to defend it against the ravages of the Dardians.

Early in the spring, Sulpitius and Attalus, quitting their winter quarters, sailed to Eubœa, and obtained possession of Orcum in that island. Attalus also laid siege to the city of Opus in Achaia, which he took; but Philip approaching with his army, he retired precipitately toward his ships.

In the mean time Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, advanced with a powerful force into Achaia. He could not, however, have chosen a more improper time for his expedition; for the illustrious Philopœmen was that year created general of the Achæan states. No sooner was that able soldier raised to this important office than he began to re-establish military discipline among the troops. Having assembled his army at Mantinæa, he offered battle to Machanidas. An obstinate conflict ensued. Machanidas

chanidas at first had the advantage; but pursuing the flying troops too far, Philopœmon attacked him in the rear. He also killed Machanidas with his own hand; and this event put an end to the engagement, in which the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand men.

The Ætolians, finding themselves deserted by the Romans, concluded a peace with Philip. Soon after, Publius Sempronius the proconsul arrived with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five gallies, to the assistance of the Ætolians. He was easily prevailed on by that people, to agree to an accommodation between the Romans and the king of Macedon. Accordingly a treaty of amity was concluded, in which Philip caused the king of Bithynia, the Achæans, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included. The Romans on their side named king Attalus, Pleuratus a petty prince of Illyricum, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians.

B. C. 203.

Philip having settled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the Carthaginians was declining, endeavoured to extend his dominions in the east. He therefore attacked the Rhodians, Athenians, and king Attalus, contrary to the express terms of the treaty. At the request of the Athenians, therefore, war was declared against him by the Romans; and Sulpitius the consul was appointed to carry it on. The Romans dispatched a fleet for the relief of Athens, then besieged by the Macedonians. Thus disappointed in his purposes, Philip laid waste the whole Athenian territory.

The command of the Roman army devolving on

on Titus Quintius Flaminius, that general had the address to detach the Achæans from the Macedonian interest. An engagement soon after took place near the mountains of Cynocephalæ, in Thessaly, in which Philip was defeated with the loss of thirteen thousand men, while the Romans lost not more than seven hundred. The Macedonian king was now obliged to sue for peace, on such conditions as Rome and her allies were pleased to impose. B. C. 197.

Flaminius, having expelled Nabis the tyrant of Sparta from Argos, left Greece to enjoy the liberty and happiness he had restored, and returned to Rome with all the Roman garrisons.

The Ætolians were the only Grecian people dissatisfied with the peace; on account of some cities which had been withheld from them. They therefore insinuated to Nabis the contemptible condition to which he was reduced by the Romans; and that Achaia possessed all Peloponnesus, while he was permitted to retain Sparta only. Nabis was well inclined to undertake any attempt against the Romans, and therefore immediately laid siege to Gitium. Philopœmen, however, cut off his army soon afterward in the neighbourhood of Sparta, and besieged the tyrant in his own metropolis. Nabis was soon after killed by a body of Ætolians, who surprised Sparta; and this state now joined the Achæan confederacy. B. C. 192.

In the mean time the Ætolians persuaded Antiochus, king of Syria, to pass over into Greece, with the design of expelling the Romans from that country. Accordingly he entered

tered Greece with a small force; but being disappointed of the succours he expected from the several states, he was defeated at the straits of Thermopylæ by Manius Acilius Glabrio the Roman consul. A deputation was soon after sent from the Ætolians, to solicit a peace from the Roman people. The conditions, however, which were imposed upon them, were extremely hard. They were heavily fined; compelled to give up several of their cities and territories to the Romans; and to deliver to the consul forty hostages, to be chosen by him. They were also commanded to pay *observance* to the *empire* and *majesty* of the Roman people.

The Roman senate began now to conceive a jealousy of the power and reputation of the Achæans. Though confederated with Achaia, each of the Peloponnesian cities retained its peculiar privileges, and a species of independent sovereignty. After the peace had been concluded with Ætolia, and Cephallenia reduced, the Romans had stationed M. Fulvius Nobilior in that island, for the alleged purpose of deciding any disputes which should arise in Greece, but in fact to improve and foment every dissension for the aggrandisement of Rome. The general assembly of the Achæans had been always held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was now at the head of that state, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages of the congress among the several cities of the league, and appointed Argos for the next place of meeting. The inhabitants of Ægium opposed this regulation, and appealed to the decision of the Roman consul in Cephallenia.

Besides this, Fulvius had another pretext for passing

over into Greece. During the tyranny
xisted in Sparta, many of the Lacedæ-
had been driven into exile, and inha-
e maritime cities of Laconia, protected
ean garrisons. These men had cut off
ibitants of Lacedæmon from all inter-
vith the sea coast. This restraint the
could not brook; and therefore at-
n the night a small city called Las, but
ulsed. Philopœmen represented to the
this attempt as an insult offered to all
and a decree was enacted that the
nonians should deliver up the authors of
age, on pain of being considered as ene-
The Lacedæmonians not only refused to
decree, but put to death the Achæans
re sent to inform them of it, and then
ed ambassadors to Fulvius, requesting
come and take possession of their city.
men, however, advanced with an army
conia, and laid waste the territories.
emissaries of the Romans, the Messe-
ad been prevailed on to take up arms
the Achæans; and Philopœmen, hasten-
suppress the insurgents, fell into their
nd was put to death. The Romans, by
ns, being invited to act as umpires, soon
eans to destroy the strength of Achaia,
cing its confederate states.

ng these transactions in Greece, the Ro-
re endeavouring to quarrel with Philip,
Macedon, that they might seize his pos-
and deprive him of his power. For
rpose they encouraged the cantons or
nities, which Philip had lately annexed
ominions, to assert their independence;

and commissioners being sent from Rome to determine this difference, the king was ordered to content himself with Macedon in its ancient state, and by a formal decree was required to withdraw his garrisons from Ænus and Maronea, two maritime towns of Thrace. Philip accordingly was obliged to withdraw his troops from those places; but at the same time resolved to revenge himself on the Maronites, whose complaints had procured the decree. As the soldiers, therefore, were leaving Maronea, a body of Thracians was privately admitted into the town, who plundered it with all the circumstances of cruelty and avarice. The Roman deputies obtaining intelligence of this atrocious deed, the king was summoned to justify himself before the senate.

Though Philip considered this order as the most mortifying indignity that could be offered to an independent prince, he was nevertheless under the necessity of obeying it. He therefore sent his son Demetrius to apologize for his conduct before the Roman senate. When the young prince heard the articles of impeachment read against Philip, he was so affected that he was unable to utter a word in his father's defence. His modesty had a favourable effect on the senators; and he was encouraged to read the notes he had brought for the justification of the king, whose excuses were accepted. Demetrius carried home the senate's ratification of a treaty, with this express clause, that Philip owed it entirely to their regard for his son.

This last circumstance was not at all agreeable to the king; who feared that the Romans were endeavouring to attach Demetrius to their

own

own interest. His suspicion was inflamed by the insinuations and dark artifices of his eldest son, Perseus; a prince who is said to have been of a turbulent licentious disposition, sordid, ungenerous, and subtle.

Perseus had conceived such a jealousy of his brother that he endeavoured, by every insidious art, to undermine him in the favour of the king. He accused Demetrius of an attempt to murder him at the instigation of the Romans. Demetrius, on the other hand, defended himself with equal spirit and resolution; refuting the charge as groundless, and recriminating upon his brother for his unnatural malice and ambition. Philip blamed Demetrius for acting in such a manner as to give the least pretence for his brother's charge; and reprehended Perseus for putting the worst construction on dubious actions. In order, however, that he might remove from his own breast all doubts as to the intentions of his younger son, the king sent Philocles and Apelles, two Macedonian noblemen, as ambassadors to Rome. They were privately instructed to inquire into the conduct of Demetrius in that city; and to discover with whom he corresponded, and what schemes he had formed.

These deputies, perceiving that the affections of Philip inclined to Perseus, concerted with that prince what report they should make on their return from Rome; and it was resolved between them that, when Philocles and Apelles came back to Macedon, they should speak tenderly of Demetrius, and should present the king with a letter from Quintus Flaminicus, with whose seal and hand writing Philip was well acquainted. In this letter the Roman interceded

earnestly with the king in favour of his younger son, and excused his evil actions on account of his youth. He besought the king to forget the measures of which he had been guilty that he might supplant his brother; and exhorted him the more to comply with this advice, as the Romans would not countenance the criminality of Demetrius in aiming at the throne.

Philip, now not doubting that he had discovered the whole truth, gave orders to one of his generals to arrest Demetrius, and to take him off by poison, lest the populace, who loved him, should be informed of what was intended. The poison, however, working slowly, two ruffians were employed, who smothered the innocent and hopeful prince. Philip was soon after apprised of the injustice of this proceeding, and that the letter had been forged to answer the purposes of Perseus. On receiving this information, he fell into a melancholy, which in a little time put an end to his existence.

B. C. 179. Upon the death of Philip, Perseus assumed the reins of government. The first measures of his administration were remarkably mild, and he affected a strict regard to justice. He assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. He sat daily to hear causes, and his decisions were generally made with prudence and discernment. The same disposition which he displayed toward his own subjects he exhibited in his conduct with foreign states. He sent an embassy to the Romans, entreating them to renew the treaty made with his father, and to acknowledge him king of Macedon; in return for which he promised that he would act as their faithful ally, and undertake no war without the

permission. The senate, therefore, acvledged his title to the throne, and proced him the friend of the Roman people.
s conduct was so gracious, and his insinuaand intrigues with his neighbours so effecthat most of the Grecian states inclined to lliance; and he soon afterward pretended the patron of the liberties of Greece, against ride and dominion of Rome. In his own kinghe not only amassed great sums of money, provided magazines for a numerous army en years; and kept up, at the same time, a ary establishment of thirty thousand foot five thousand horse.
he Romans, informed of these proceedings, atched ambassadors to Macedon to question eus as to his intention in these meas. The king, only answered with pride insolence; and a war commenced between two nations. An army was immediately into Greece, under the command of P. nius Crassus, which for three years did ing worthy of notice. At length, the ians, dissatisfied with the conduct of the in Macedonia, resolved to change their gels. Accordingly, the consul Paulus Æmiwas vested with the command of the army hat kingdom; and this commander soon attacked and drove Perseus from his enchments on the banks of the river Enipeus, forced him to retire precipitately to Pydna. e the armies came to a general engagement; the Macedonians being broken and routed a great slaughter, Perseus fled with a few emen to Pella, the metropolis and strongest of his dominions. Not thinking himself

safe even here, he fled with precipitation to Amphipolis. Fearing still that the Amphipolitans would deliver him into the hands of the Romans, he mounted a tribunal in order to harangue them; but his tears flowed so fast that, after several attempts, he found it impracticable to make an oration. The inhabitants refusing to permit him to stay any longer in that city, he hastened to the sea coast; from whence he sailed to the island of Samothrace, and sought refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux.

Abandoned now by all the world, without forces, without friends, and without hope, he surrendered himself and his eldest son Philip into the hands of Octavius; who conveyed them immediately to Amphipolis, and then dispatched an express to inform the consul of what had happened. Perseus approached the consul with the most abject servility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring with his suppliant arms to grasp his knees. "Wretched man!" said Æmilius, "why dost thou acquit fortune of what might seem her crime, by a behaviour that evinces thou deservest not her indignation? Why dost thou disgrace my laurels, by shewing thyself an abject adversary, and unworthy of having a Roman to contend with?" He then gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel; and encouraged him with an assurance of safety from the clemency of the Roman people.

The Roman army plundered all that part of Epirus which had espoused the cause of Perseus and then embarking sailed for Italy. Perseus was afterward led in triumph through the streets of Rome; and then cast into a dungeon, where

where he starved himself to death. Philip died before his father; but Perseus left a son, named Alexander, who was afterward appointed a clerk or secretary to the Roman senate.

Some years after this, two or three pretenders arose successively, who claimed a right to the sovereignty of Macedon. This afforded, what had been greatly desired, a pretence for reducing that kingdom into a Roman province. Accordingly, from that time, Macedonia and its dependencies were reduced to the same state, as other nations conquered by the Romans.

Not long afterward, disturbances broke out in Achaia, and war was declared against Sparta. The Romans sent commissioners to terminate this dispute. The Achæans, however, were extremely exasperated against the Romans; and the Corinthians particularly distinguished themselves in their opposition to that proud and imperious people. The Bœotians and the people of Chalcis joined the confederacy; and these several states seemed to be actuated by a destiny which was hurrying them to their own ruin. Metellus marched an army against them; and obtained a complete victory, in which he took more than one thousand prisoners. He also fell in with one thousand Arcadians, all of whom he put to the sword. He then proceeded to Thebes; but most of the inhabitants had quitted that city.

In the mean time Mummius, the consul of the present year, arrived from Rome with new levies, which increased the army to twenty-three thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse. With these forces he advanced toward Corinth against the enemy, who had shut themselves

ther he had before sent his family. He
his wife to prevent her from falling in
hands of the enemy, and then took poi
which he died. On the third day after t
tion, the victorious general entered Co
and, with the exception only of the statu
pictures intended for his triumph, gav
town, abounding with all the accommod
and ornaments of a wealthy metropolis,
B. C. 146. plundered by his soldiers. The were then razed; and the city re to ashes. Thus perished Corinth, same year with Carthage.

Soon after, ten commissioners arrived Rome, to regulate, in conjunction with th sul, the affairs of Greece in general, a Achaia in particular. They abolished p government in all the cities; and estal magistrates, who were to govern each sta cording to their respective laws, under t perintendence of a Roman prætor. Th

of the Grecian communities, until the Mithridatic war; when that city openly declared against the Romans. Mithridates dispatched into Greece an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, under the command of Archelaus; who soon made himself master of Athens, and compelled Lacedæmon, Achaia, and Bœotia, to join him also. He took up his abode in Athens. Sylla, being appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates, entered Greece with five legions; and all the cities, except Athens, immediately opened their gates to him. B. C. 88.

He first attempted to force his way into the Piræus by scaling the walls; but, being repulsed, he had recourse to the ordinary means of attack. He erected towers; and, raising them to the same height as the battlements, got upon the same level as the besieged, and plied them with missile weapons. Battering engines assailed the walls, or with galleries he undermined them: but the defence of the place was equally obstinate and vigorous; and he was obliged, after many fruitless attempts, to turn the siege into a blockade, and to wait the effects of famine.

Athens was in a little time brought to the last extremity. Those who were confined within the walls, having consumed all the herbage and killed all the animals in the place, were under the necessity of feeding on the implements of leather or other materials which might be turned into sustenance, and at last to prey on the carcasses of their dead companions. The garrison was greatly diminished; and those who remained were dispirited and weak: but Aristion, the tyrant

tyrant of the place, expecting no quarter for himself from the Romans, would not consent to capitulate. Sylla, therefore, knowing the weak state of the besieged, stormed and forced the walls with great slaughter. Aristion sought refuge in the citadel, but was taken and slain. Macedonia and Greece were soon afterward reduced again under the power of Rome; as were also the Grecian provinces in Asia Minor.

B. C. 87.

The Greeks were never surpassed by any race of men in the vigour with which they supported their republican establishments; and they appeared to retain their ingenuity and their skill in many arts, long after they had lost the military and political spirit which constitutes the strength and security of nations. Both the enmity and the friendship of the Roman republic proved equally fatal to the Grecian states: the one deprived them of freedom; the other sunk them into indolence and apathy.

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